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MARSEILLES CONGRESS

L.S.I. 1925

[ENGLISH EDITION.]

SECOND CONGRESS

of the

LABOUR & SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

at Marseilles, 22nd
to 27th August, 1925



Published by
THE LABOUR PARTY, 33 Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1.

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First Part: REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT.

Second Part: CONGRESS REPORT.

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THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE L.S.I.



At its meeting in Brussels (January, 1925).

REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT

(for the period from 23rd May, 1923, to 30th June, 1925).

INTRODUCTION.

THE work of the International is primarily to focus the activity of the Parties united within its fold. A full view of the scope of the L.S.I. and of the extent of its effective action in all the political and economic questions vital to the working class can therefore be gained only by studying the working of all the affiliated Parties. The Reports of their activity make up pamphlets and books running in every year to several thousands of pages; and thus by their very quantity, and even more by the multiplicity of languages in which they are written, they are far from being universally accessible.

The Report, which the Secretariat of the L.S.I. is submitting to the Congress in Marseilles, obviously cannot mirror in all its fulness the life of the International Labour Movement. It attempts merely to act as a *sign-post* indicating the strength and the achievements of the fighting forces of the International proletariat.

But Labour's International is not merely the sum of the activity of the affiliated Parties, from the co-ordination of the actions taken in the various countries and from their interrelation a new synthesis is born. The main part of the present Report is devoted to showing the path, often so arduous, towards joint action through the mutual understanding of the Parties. It embraces the first chapter of the activity of the Labour and Socialist International founded at the Hamburg Congress, that is, the period from the end of May, 1923, to the beginning of July, 1925. During the two years of which this Report treats, the working class was faced not only with extremely knotty problems, but also with ever-shifting conditions, which necessitated an exposition of the efforts towards international understanding and international action, in their particular phases.

We hope that from this Report the general outlines of the L.S.I.'s activity will shape themselves and that thereby a clear perspective of the tasks and possibilities of the International will be facilitated. During the last decade the working class has fallen a victim to two equally dangerous illusions, and it is still suffering to-day from the effects of these misconceptions. One of these illusions was that the individual national Party, *per se*, in isolation from its sister Parties was capable of effecting everything, the other no less fatal illusion was that the International, *per se*, must effect everything, and that the individual Parties should fall into mere automatic instruments for carrying out, as it were, military instructions. From the present Report it is likewise perfectly clear how far the International would be misjudged by studying its action divorced from that of the individual Parties, and how, conversely, an important element in the action of the Parties is only attainable through the oneness made possible in the International. The International can no more be a substitute for the achievements of individual Parties, than can an individual Party in isolation fulfil all the tasks imposed upon it by the workers' struggle for freedom.

The principles which guide the work of the L.S.I. were formulated by the Hamburg Congress as the foremost of its Constitution, in the following terms :—

(1) The Labour and Socialist International (L.S.I.) is a union of such Parties as accept the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth as their object, and the class struggle which finds its expression in the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organisations as a means of realising that object.

(2) The object of the L.S.I. is to unify the activities of the affiliated Parties, to arrange common action and to bring about the entire unification of the International Labour and Socialist movement on the basis of this Constitution.

The Parties associated in the L.S.I. undertake not to affiliate to any other political international.

(3) The Labour and Socialist International can only become a reality if its decisions in all international questions are binding on its affiliated bodies. The resolutions of the International will therefore imply a self-imposed limitation of the autonomy of the affiliated organisations.

(4) The L.S.I. is not only an effective instrument in peace but just as absolutely essential during war.

In conflicts between nations the International shall be recognised as the highest authority.

We are far from believing that the moment is approaching when the L.S.I. would have the right to rest upon the laurels it has won ; but the advance in international organisation and in international fighting strength, which can be seen from the annexed Report, give us the conviction that the work done on the foundations laid at the Hamburg Congress stands surety for greater successes.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE L.S.I.

London, July, 1925.

POLITICAL EVENTS AND THE ACTION OF THE L.S.I.

1. SINCE HAMBURG.

At the time of the preparations for the *Initial Congress of the Labour and Socialist International*, and further, during the first months thereafter, the international political situation as it has been moulded by the war, had again reached in Europe a climax of confusion. It was marked by the Occupation of the Ruhr, by the resultant catastrophic intensification of conflicts, by the collapse of the Mark, and by a growing tension between England and France. All this led to an accentuation of international political difficulties, in face of which it was in itself a formidable task to escape failure during the period when the newly-formed International organisation had first to rally its forces.

The results of the war can be classed in three main groups, intimately inter-linked : firstly *economic* phenomena, which issued in violent displacements of the economic equilibrium, in lasting disturbances of the exchange of commodities throughout the world, and in the often catastrophic crises which fell upon certain countries ; then the *political* results brought about by the great rents made in the international framework of states, and which now appear in the form of treaties of peace, the formation of new states, the tracing of new frontiers, new groupings of states, conflicts and alliances ; and finally the *social* happenings which have occurred in the form of revolution and counter-revolution in the train of the war, and which, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, have profoundly altered the entire structure of society ; created new states and placed new classes in control, whilst others in consequence of economic and political events have found themselves displaced or pushed down and at times dispossessed or completely destroyed. The present report aims especially at outlining in a concise summary the attitude of the Labour and Socialist International towards political and social happenings of the last chapter of our quickly moving period.

Reparations Problem.

On a wider view it appears as a historical proof of the strength and ability of the International that during the first section of its existence which is reported here, the alleviation and solution of a part of those difficulties which appear again and again in the *crises of the Treaties of Peace* was achieved through the efforts of the Labour Parties in the western countries. If to-day the *Reparations problem* no longer threatens the peace of Europe, and thereby one of the causes of post-war conflicts has been partially removed, this fact is due to the existence of the British Labour Government, the triumph of the French Socialist Party at the elections, and to the courageous intervention of German Social Democracy in favour of a policy of reconciliation—forces of peace which found their focus in the Labour and Socialist International. How these problems were necessarily bound to link the Parties grouped in the Labour and Socialist International in a common struggle, is clear from the fact that these Parties, even before the birth of a common organisation, agreed at the Conference of Five Countries in Frankfurt (1922) upon a common programme, which by the decisions of the Hamburg Congress and the Socialist Conferences which followed, was continually elaborated and adapted to the existing political situations. Thus the first period

of the activity of the Labour and Socialist International is marked on the political side by the *partial solution of the West European problems*, by the first successful steps towards the overcoming of the difficulties created by the Treaties of Peace, and thereby to a partial easing of the world political situation.

Security.

It is true that thereby only one portion of the great immediate task of the moment, *i.e.*, the liberation of the world from the condition of chaos into which it was brought by the war, has been accomplished; though accomplished indeed only to a limited extent. And so after the settlement of the Reparations question, in the second half of the period covered by this Report, a new complex of political questions comes to the front; namely, the question of safeguards against a recurrence of war and the means of achieving *security*. By some this is viewed selfishly as the problem of safeguarding their own national interests and in particular their existing frontiers; by others it is considered in relation to the great idea of an international organisation of justice among peoples, which is to ensure peace. It will be the task of the International during the coming period of its activity to influence the solution of this problem, which is occupying the nations to-day in the most varied forms, according to the international conceptions of the working classes. In face of all illusions the International will continue to emphasise that capitalism in itself is a perpetual source of the dangers of fresh wars. At the same time it will work towards the creation of the forms, through which the settlement of international conflicts may become possible by peaceful means. The working class is the one real champion of the *fight against war* and the sole power in the development of mankind, whose historical mission lies in realising the high aim of an internationally organised world freed from capitalist exploitation.

Revolution and Reaction.

The social convulsions arising from the world war had resulted, by the date of the Hamburg Congress, in the following state of affairs. The first wave of the revolution which had stirred up Central and Eastern Europe, but only just touched Western and Northern Europe, had already ebbed, and the wave of counter-revolution which followed immediately upon it had almost attained its highest point. In October, 1922, Fascism had seized power in Italy. Immediately after the Hamburg Congress in June, 1923, came the *coup d'état* in Bulgaria; in September, 1923, the last onslaught of armed counter-revolution, namely, the establishment of the military dictatorship in Spain; and simultaneously in the autumn of 1923, as a sequel to economic collapse, came the profound social convulsion in Germany which ended in the open accession to power of the reactionary bourgeoisie. In Russia, where economically and politically, both revolution and counter-revolution took their course within the structure of the Soviet system and under cover of a dictatorship more and more alien from its origin, the transition to the New Economic Policy which for the Russian workers spelt fresh sacrifices and fresh oppression, had at this moment completed itself. Thus at the moment when the newly-founded International came into history, the relative power between the classes, viewed internationally, stood most unfavourably for the working classes; indeed the lowest point of the power of the proletariat in the post-war years had been reached. In this respect also the task of the newborn organisation was therefore one of quite exceptional difficulty. But here also a backward glance through the period of this Report will show that during its course, the summit of international reaction and the lowest depth of working-class power were left behind, and now, after certain fluctuations, there has arisen a position which

promises and makes possible a slow improvement, a steady though indeed gradual advance. True, in some countries the power of counter-revolution stands still unbroken, but in Italy, in Spain, and even in Hungary it has already been heavily shaken and it is in particular thoroughly discredited morally. This evolution did not proceed in a straight line. A transient, very hopeful ascent of the working classes, who in all countries drew encouragement and confidence from the triumph of their comrades in England and France, has been followed since the retirement of the British Labour Government by a perceptible set-back, a fresh reactionary advance, particularly in the Balkans. On the other hand the Labour Governments in Denmark and Sweden have maintained their power, and in many respects their example has acted as a spur and as a model. Thus socially the Labour and Socialist International's first period of activity is marked by a gradual ebbing of reaction, and by a slow *reascent of the workers' movement* to strength in organisation and to influence in politics.

This development again brings the International face to face with wide problems. The social movements summed up in the terms revolution and counter-revolution are not of one type. The *revolution* which in Central Europe brought the militarist monarchies to the ground, in achieving middle-class democracy in its entirety, has really only completed the bourgeois revolution; on the other hand, by shaking the authority of the classes previously dominant, so that at one moment the working class became relatively the strongest in the state, while at another time the strength of the proletariat and of the bourgeoisie balanced each other, it appeared at certain moments to offer to the masses an opportunity of passing on to the social revolution. The revolution in the East which smashed the despotism of the Czar over the peoples within the Russian Empire, and also the tyranny of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy over the non-German nationalities, was first and foremost a national revolution, which gave independence and autonomy to a series of nationalities previously oppressed, and created for each of them its own united national state. The social significance of this latter revolution lay throughout Eastern Europe in the abolition of feudal ownership of the land and the transfer of the soil to the peasants, who had now become freeholders. Thus in the East the revolution was exclusively a middle-class revolution. Similarly in the various countries *reaction* bears a different countenance: it is one thing in Germany or Italy, where it signifies the restoration of unlimited supremacy of the middle class over the working class, and something different in Hungary or Roumania, where it means the prevention of any division of the soil, and the maintenance of the supremacy of the large landed proprietor over the peasantry. Thus the rise and fall of class-supremacy works itself out in forms which vary from one country to another. The struggle between the social forces finds expression in all possible shapes; here it is the blood-terror of Fascism, there the problems of agrarian reform; in another place again the instability of the frontiers traced between the new national states; all these belong likewise to the totality of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between the forces of progress and those of reaction, as for example, the great question of Russia's relations to her neighbours and the wide disparity between the stages of revolution reached in Eastern and in Western Europe. In the coming period of its activity the International's task will be to bind together all these factors in the great single *fight against reaction*, which alone can lead to a real liberation of all peoples from every form of oppression, to the realisation of the right of nations to self-determination, and to the overthrow of capitalist class-dominance through the victory of the working classes.

In view of this struggle it is also our duty to train intellectually the proletariat of all countries, and to make them physically fit for the fight. Accordingly it has always been one of the principles of the Socialist Labour movement to prepare for the struggle not only by stimulating theoretic knowledge and promoting class-consciousness amongst the workers, but also by improving their physical and moral fitness, and raising the standard of life for the working classes.

In this respect the Labour and Socialist International, at its foundation in Hamburg, was able to register a marked advance, which in most countries, even in those not directly affected by the revolution, resulted from the disturbance of capitalist class-supremacy through the war. All these achievements in the domain of labour legislation and of social reform—the Eight-Hour Day, Workers' Leisure, Unemployment Insurance, Protection for Women and Young Workers, Social Insurance, Rent Control for the workers, &c., together with the steps achieved in certain countries towards industrial control and nationalisation of industry, especially by works' councils (shop stewards)—all these, on the appearance of the economic crises and of political reaction, were exposed to a furious attack on the part of the possessing classes, which, very shortly after the Hamburg Congress, reached its maximum intensity, when the co-operation between the capitalist employers in all countries succeeded in dealing a heavy blow against the Eight-Hour Day in Germany, the greatest industrial nation on the Continent.

Maintenance of Social Achievements.

On the whole, however, the working classes have managed to defend successfully the majority of the social achievements of the post-war period, but it was certainly impossible to increase their number. Above all, the struggle around the Eight-Hour Day is still going on. Thus the first section of the Labour and Socialist International's activity is marked by the *maintenance of the social achievements*, although in this sphere no further important step forward could be taken. It will be the business of the International in the coming period of its task, working as hitherto in closest understanding with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and by strengthening the influence of the workers' delegates in the International Labour Office, to win further social reforms, to extend what has already been won to those elements who have lately been driven into the organised army of the proletariat—especially the land-workers and the clerks—and to work at the elaboration of international labour legislation, whose next triumph must be the international *legal safeguard of the Eight-Hour Day* by the ratification of the Washington Convention.

Thus the International passes over from the first period of its work into the coming one with a threefold achievement and a threefold task; the *fight against war*, and for the basis of a stable peace; the *fight against reaction*, which blocks the way to the liberation of the working class from the fetters of capitalism, and the *fight for the improvement of the position of working people*, a symbol of which must be the final victory of the Eight-Hour Day. In these three fights the Labour and Socialist International during the period already elapsed has fulfilled its duty. On these three fronts it goes forward into new battles.

International Unity.

All these efforts need as a foundation *the international unity and fighting strength of the workers*, whose first condition is the international mind, whose weapon is international organisation, whose practical goal is international action. In this respect the Labour and Socialist International can point with pride to the successes of mutual understanding between the various Socialist Parties, and to the unification of their

action, on which indeed the character and effectiveness of the International, especially in the first years of its existence, is ultimately and necessarily based. The progress made in the building up and in the unification of the international organisation since the Hamburg Congress has exceeded all expectations. Therein is expressed the real achievement of the Labour and Socialist International during the first period of its activity, and the following pages of this Report will deal first and foremost with it; namely, with the degree attained of *unity and solidarity in the International Socialist proletariat*. It is true that one part of the working classes still stands aloof; considerable groups of workers, not only in Russia, but also in Germany and France and Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, and the Balkan countries, still keep outside the ranks of the Labour and Socialist International. But whilst our ranks establish themselves more and more, the Bolshevik groups and parties, as the history of the last few years has unmistakably shown, are moving continually towards fresh division and disruption, and for the most part irrevocably towards ultimate dissolution. The task of the International in the years to come will be to help forward the process of *theoretic enlightenment* and of *organisational unity* within its own ranks, and also among those parties or groups of workers who still hold apart from it, the goal of which process is the welding of the workers of the world into a single comprehensive Socialist International.

Chief Events.

We now subjoin a short chronological survey of the chief events within the period of the Report:—

On the 9th June, 1923, immediately after the Hamburg Congress, the *coup d'état* in Bulgaria impressed once again on the consciousness of the European public the instability of political and social conditions in Eastern and Southern Europe. In September, 1923, occurred the first counter-insurrection of the Peasants' Party, who, through the *coup d'état*, had been driven out of power, in alliance with the Communists. This attempt was suppressed with bloodshed. On the 18th November, 1923, fresh elections took place which confirmed the new régime by means of the old unjust electoral system. Nevertheless, chaos continued, and the reactionary violence of the Tsankoff Government brought about in April, 1925, a renewed outbreak of civil war; the bombing attempt in the cathedral in Sofia led to the appalling White terror, to which many thousands have fallen victims.

On the 11th July, 1923, the first Bureau meeting of the new-founded International took place in Brussels. This was followed by a Conference of Parties on the 22nd July at Easton Lodge, near London, and on the 3rd and 4th October, by a further Bureau meeting in Brussels. All these meetings dealt with the question of Reparations and with the Occupation of the Ruhr. In the meantime in August, 1923, the Cuno Government in Germany had fallen, and a coalition, with the co-operation of the Social Democrats, had been formed, which, after being—in October, 1923—remodelled, ended the resistance in the Ruhr, whereby it became possible to avert the crash of the currency in Germany.

In September, 1923, occurred the last violent seizure of power by the counter-revolution in any European country, the military *coup d'état* in Spain, which set up the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera.

On the 21st October, 1923, on the other hand, International Labour was able to register with satisfaction the first sign for several years of a turn in the tide; the victory at the elections of the Austrian Socialists.

On the 6th December, 1923, followed the great electoral victory of the British Labour Party, which led to the notable historical event of the first British Labour Government, which took up office on the 22nd January, 1924.

Election Triumphs.

Therewith began the series of triumphs which marked the year 1924, the year of election, in almost unbroken succession, and which in the most widely separated countries showed the *Labour Parties on the way to a majority*. On the 3rd April the elections in Finland took place, which increased the Parliamentary membership of the Social-Democratic Party from 53 to 60. On the 6th April came the elections in Italy, from which, despite the absurd electoral law and the appalling terrorisation, the Socialist Party emerged as the strongest Opposition Party. On the 11th April, at the Danish elections, Labour won a number of seats and attained a bare majority of the Left, so that they managed, with the support of the Radicals, to form the first purely Socialist Minority Government in Denmark, entering on office on the 23rd April, 1924. On the 4th May, at the German elections, Social Democracy suffered a passing set-back, which, however, at the fresh elections of the 7th December, 1924, was brilliantly reversed. On the 11th May, 1924, the French Party gained a victory which raised the number of their representatives from 50 to 104, and had a lasting effect on the politics of their country, and of the whole of Europe. At the end of September, the elections in Sweden brought to the Social-Democratic Party an increase of their seats from 99 to 104. The assumption of office in Sweden by the Socialists signified a welcome supplement and a moral strengthening of the Danish Labour Government. Similar good fortune did not attend the Social Democrats at the elections in Norway, in October, 1923, where they could only just maintain the *status quo*. With this began a series of electoral results which certainly lacked those outward signs of triumph, which inspire the masses; above all, the new elections in Great Britain on 29th October, 1924, which, despite a voting increase of one million by the Labour Party, led to the resignation of the British Labour Government; the American Presidential election of the 4th November, which brought to the Conservatives (Republicans) an easy victory, and gave to the progressive candidature of La Follette less than the expected success; lastly, the terror elections in Yugo-Slavia on the 16th February, 1925. This series was again broken by the success in Luxemburg on the 1st March, 1925. On the 5th April, 1925, the Belgian Labour Party, under the P.R. System, gained quite an extraordinary victory, raising their voting strength from 672,874 to 820,650, i.e., by 22 per cent., and the number of their representatives in the Chamber from 68 to 79, by which they became the strongest party in the country. Lastly, on the 1st July, 1925, Dutch Labour was able to score a resounding success.

The International at Work.

On the 16th February, 1924, the full Executive of the Labour and Socialist International had met for the first time. This meeting in Luxemburg marked the beginning of a series of fruitful *international gatherings* which now succeeded each other at regular intervals, and shaped the policy of the Labour and Socialist International after common deliberations between the representatives of all the Socialist Parties. The political line of the International, and its co-operation in any action always grew out of resolutions taken by common agreement after discussion in which all affiliated parties participated.

For the 1st May, 1924, the Labour and Socialist International issued an appeal which summarised the battle cries of the year 1924. The first May-Day Manifesto of the reunited International ran as follows:—

MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

Thirty-five years ago the International Socialist Congress in Paris established May Day for the purpose of demonstrating in favour of the Eight-Hour Day. For a lifetime we have fought a hard and obstinate fight, step by step,

towards our goal. We continue the struggle to-day so as to defend our conquest and to legalise internationally the Eight-Hour Day. Within the next few months decisions will have been arrived at in many countries. Therefore this particular First of May is consecrated, in a greater degree than ever before, to an *Eight-Hour Day Demonstration*.

Ten years have passed since the disastrous World War broke out. Ten years—and we are still without peace. Wounds caused by the war are still bleeding, devastated towns remain unbuilt, production has not yet regained its full activity. The world is still suffering not only from the loss of twelve million lives, offered as a sacrifice to war, but through millions of cripples, millions of hungry and starving people, millions of workless—all living witnesses of the folly of war. And, despite all this, the idea of a new war obtrudes itself. The occupation of the Ruhr by Poincaré and Ludendorff's dreams of revenge show how little has been learnt by imperialists on both sides. The possibility of war in the Balkans, once before the prelude to a world catastrophe, is still more openly discussed. The world problems were not solved by the peace dictates of the imperialist victors. Democratic methods and the right of nations to self-determination played their parts as means of propaganda during the war, and have now been discarded like scrap iron. In opposition to the incurable fascination of the imperialists the working classes must, in this year of commemoration, raise ever again their cry: *No more War!*

Sixty years ago the world proletariat International was founded in London. Twice it was broken up, first by the Franco-German War of 1870, and the second time by the World War. The necessity for international working-class co-operation is for ever revealing itself anew and with irresistible force. In the year which has elapsed since its foundation at Hamburg, the Labour and Socialist International has succeeded in bringing within its organisation the masses of the Socialist working class, and has prepared the ground for *joint international action by the World Proletariat*. As the first big display of the reunited World Proletariat we call upon you for a vigorous First of May Demonstration.

FOR INTERNATIONAL LEGALISING OF THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY!

AGAINST WAR AND THE DANGERS OF WAR!

FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD PROLETARIAT!

On behalf of the Administrative Committee of the
Labour and Socialist International,

FRIEDRICH ADLER.

The next sitting of the Executive was held from the 5th to the 7th June, in Vienna, simultaneously with the International Trade Union Congress, on which occasion the Austrian workers acclaimed the delegates of the two Internationals in a magnificent Mass Demonstration. On the 14th July followed a fresh international gathering (Joint Executive Meeting of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions) in Amsterdam, on the eve of the Conference of Governments in London which started on the 16th July, 1924, and led to the acceptance by Germany of the Experts' Plan.

At the end of July, 1924, occurred the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War in 1914. By agreement with the International Federation of Trade Unions and with the Socialist Youth International, the Labour and Socialist International issued the following manifesto in memory of the beginning of the war:—

MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Go back in memory to the time when the World War began. Go back ten years. Think, first of all, of the early days and weeks when you were still in ignorance of what you afterwards learnt through trial and agony. Remember how the war spirit in those days gripped the minds of the masses, and remember with what art the Press of every country succeeded in fostering it.

After a generation of peace the masses (of North and West and Central Europe) were, at first, totally incapable of understanding the dangers which threatened them. Everywhere they believed what the newspapers told them—that theirs was the country attacked, everywhere the General Staffs succeeded in inflaming the national spirit of solidarity for the purpose of defence. But, above all, the war appeared as a *great new experience*, and people were only too ready to believe the lie that it would help them in their troubles. Peace and well-being were to spring from the war; people went even so far as to prophesy diminished unemployment.

Think of your brother-workers who were then carried along on the *wave of jingoism*, and examine your conscience to see if you were not also amongst those who surrendered to the intoxication of the war spirit.

It is neither to blame nor to hurt you that we remind you of the war enthusiasm of those days. It is because we would ask you whether such a disastrous failure to understand what war means ought ever to occur again.

Men's eyes were soon opened by the realities of war. Wherever the blood-thirsty Moloch set his foot, enthusiasm died down, terror struck the people, lamentations arose on every side and men felt such sufferings and privation as they had never known before. The first victim was unhappy Belgium. From the beginning Belgium experienced the barbarities of war in all their horror. Some days later war showed its horrible face also in the East, when thousands and thousands of women, children and the aged fled in terror from the Russo-Austrian frontiers to the interior of the country. One district after another was given up to graves and ruins. Northern France, Serbia and the Eastern border of Poland became wildernesses. Paris shook with the thunder of the guns. Irreplaceable treasures of art were hidden in London in the deepest cellars for fear of bombs, the celebrated cathedral of Rheims was shattered, and Königsberg, the home of the philosopher Kant, was devastated.* Destruction raged at sea as well as upon land. Death took its harvest amongst non-combatants as impartially as amongst the soldiers in the field. Hundreds of thousands lay on the battlefield and at the bottom of the sea, and pestilence came ever nearer with its menace. All Europe was hungry, and the organised blockade worked havoc in Germany and Austria. Those countries which escaped the terror of the battlefield watched the horrors of war in the bodies of enfeebled men, ailing women and dying children. From land to land strode the fury of war. Asia, Africa and America became more and more deeply entangled. Yet still the glorification of war went on in places far from the noise of the guns. This contrast between enthusiasm and misery lasted the whole length of the war, though the domain of misery was ever growing and the domain of glory shrank.

Recall the past and answer the question: Is such criminal madness again to be repeated?

Millions now rest in their graves, whilst millions of cripples are still amongst us, and millions of children bear on their bodies the *hell* imprint of "the great time." There are millions of unemployed, millions are needy and starving. The ruins are not yet restored, trade is still stagnant; for all who have eyes to see the devastation of war still lies around us. But already war agitators, speculating upon the forgetfulness of mankind, are again busy. Ludendorff and Poincaré have been defeated in the elections of this year. But let us not deceive ourselves; as time goes by it will become all the easier to generate again the spirit of war. And therefore we call upon you to make this anniversary of the outbreak of war a reminder of all the abominations through which you have lived, so as to strengthen yourself in the resolve that there shall be *no more war*.

Yet, to feel abhorrence for war is not enough. In order to abolish war, people must understand its causes.

All the world knows to-day how, at the beginning of July, 1914, the Crown Council of Vienna resolved to go to war, how the Kaiser Wilhelm lent himself to the purposes of this band of criminals and became their leader as they applied the match to the powder barrel. All this was the inevitable outcome of the imperialist policy which all the great capitalist States had followed for a generation. There is no doubt that the Tsar of Russia (whose staff was the first to declare a general mobilization), M. Poincaré, and only too many other "statesmen" would have shown themselves *capable of the same crime* had they only thought that the favourable moment had arrived. Therefore it is not enough that we should condemn the criminals whose crimes are indisputably proved by their own official documents. *We must do away with an order of society* which will always beget war-makers, and for ever threatens us with all the curses of barbarism.

The prolongation of the war was just as much a crime as the making of it. Sooner or later all the belligerents abandoned the idea of defence. They began with the aim of repelling aggression; they went on to demand the *knock-out blow*. The war must go on till they had made *sure of the booty*. They spoke of the self-determination of peoples whilst they were thinking of *annexation* and the *conquest of colonies*. In this big job the Central Empires failed; the Allies succeeded.

During the war we were told that it was a *war to end war*. To-day we find militarism still adding to its power. *Competition in armaments* is forbidden to the conquered, but it flourishes more than ever amongst the allied victors. Thus the danger of an armed explosion is as great as ever.

*This was an error in the original text. It ought to read: threatened with devastation.

During the war we were told that it would result in a League of Nations, which would render future wars impossible. But how remote from the realization of the great ideal of a *peacefully organised world* is the body which to-day bears this name! We therefore claim that the League of Nations should include *all countries*, that it should become an instrument of peoples rather than of Governments. We do not want to miss any means of reconciliation, but we know that *the interests of capitalism must clash with the peaceful organisation of the world*. Therefore the danger of war will endure as long as capitalism itself endures.

We must work *against the spirit of war, against secret diplomacy, for general disarmament, for peaceful understanding and for international arbitration*. We must organise all forces in our Trade Unions, in our Co-operatives, in our political organisations, in Parliaments, inside the League of Nations, and everywhere where we may become influential. We must unite internationally in order to prepare every form of international defence against war, including the general strike. But we know that by all these means we shall only diminish the danger of war, not abolish it.

As long as militarism retains its tremendous machinery of power, as long as the capitalist forces are able to set this machine in motion, so long will working men and women remain the victims of war. Physical force, economic pressure and, last but not least, effective war propaganda, may again put weapons in their hands and make them—even against their own wills—the blind instruments of war mongers. Against this personal conscientious objection will always prove an impressive demonstration, but cannot work on a scale which would really avail to check the evil.

Therefore there is no other way than to *uproot the possibility of war—to abolish the capitalist order of society*. *Labour ruling in all countries will not only mean the end of exploitation, but also the end of war*.

We therefore appeal to you to remind the world, through huge demonstrations, that mankind is still on the verge of the same abyss of folly and crime as it was in 1914.

Remember that great champion of world peace and Socialism, remember Jean Jaurès, the first victim of the World War.

Remember the many thousands of true comrades whom we have lost, remember the thousands of cripples who yearn for the ability to work, remember the cruel sufferings of women and children.

Think, Workers, and above all Young Workers, of your great historical duty, and swear that you will never swerve in the *war against war*.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (Amsterdam).

THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (London).

THE INTERNATIONAL OF SOCIALIST YOUTH (Berlin).

On the 28th September, 1924, the International solemnly celebrated the *sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the First International*. On this anniversary the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International gathered in London, where the first International was born, and issued the following manifesto:—

COMRADES OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Sixty years ago to-day the foundation stone of the International Working-Men's Association was laid in St. Martin's Hall, London. On this memorable date the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International is meeting on the spot where the first International Working-Class Organisation sprang up.

Sixty years ago the Inaugural Address of the International Working-Men's Association gave classical expression to the principles for which we still stand. Sixty years ago the deeply-rooted solidarity between the political Labour Movement and the industrial effort of the Trade Unions was recognised for the first time. To-day the ideas which inspired those men at St. Martin's Hall have taken shape in the millions of workers who form the ranks of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International.

Sixty years ago the Inaugural Address declared: "The Ten Hours Bill was not only a great practical success, but the victory of a principle." To-day the world's workers are fighting the decisive struggle for the definite establishment of the Eight-Hour Day. This tremendous progress which the workers have won, not only in England, but also in less industrialised countries, is a symbol of the successes in social legislation which have been achieved through the gallant struggles of the last sixty years.

The Inaugural Address praised the Co-operative Movement as a great victory of Labour over Capital. To-day we enjoy the splendid results realised by this important section of the Labour Movement, visible at the recent Congress and Exhibition of the International Co-operative Alliance at Ghent.

"To conquer political power had therefore become the great duty of the working classes." Thus did the Inaugural Address, sixty years ago, express its hope that Labour Movements, not only in England, but all over the Continent, would revive after a period of reaction. And where are we to-day? To-day the Labour Prime Minister of Great Britain sends his greeting to our festival. The working class in many other countries is on the threshold of power.

Still, the aim set by the Inaugural Address has not yet been achieved. Labour has nowhere secured real power. Such Minority Labour Governments as exist are based on parliamentary compromise, as in England and Denmark, or on bayonets, as in Russia—bayonets turned against part of the working class. The actual aim of the Inaugural Address will only be attained when the workers forming the real majority of the people have awakened to consciousness of their position and their duty: "Numbers weigh only in the balance if united by combination and led by knowledge." Only then will the moment have arrived when, firmly founded on democracy, the fate of the world will be shaped by the overwhelming majority in the interest of the overwhelming majority of humanity.

"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?" That was the question raised in the Inaugural Address sixty years ago, and this is the reply: "The immense and unresisted encroachments of the barbarous power whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every Cabinet in Europe, have taught the working classes that they themselves must master the mysteries of international politics, to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments, to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power." The head of the criminal policy of those days has fallen; Tsarism is dead, the last autocracy is overthrown. And yet is foreign policy far from what the Inaugural Address claims, *i.e.*, "that the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals as the rules paramount in the intercourse of nations."

Still, too many governments have "criminal designs," are "playing upon national prejudices," and are "squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure." Our duty still remains to devote our lives to the great aims which the first International set up. We must still go on fighting "for a new society whose international rule will be peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—Labour."

Sixty years ago the symbol of a people's right of self-determination was the demand for Polish independence. To-day Poland's independence is a fact. We follow the example of the first International by demanding the right of self-determination for Georgia, as the symbol of all countries subject to imperialist domination.

Together with British Trade Unionists, exiled victims of continental reaction were among the founders of the International. The dungeons of reaction still exist, and in some countries they are even more cruel than they were sixty years ago.

With deep pain we see that, besides the dungeons of reaction, those dungeons and places of exile of Tsarist Russia have not disappeared. At this solemn hour, when we rejoice in the heroic life of Karl Marx, the man who gave us the Inaugural Address, our thoughts are with those who died in dungeons for our cause. We greet our comrades pining in prisons in Italy, in Hungary, in Spain, and in the other countries under Fascist rule. We greet also our comrades in the Bolshevik prisons, those exiles in the Solowetzki Islands. We greet the great dead of our cause, we mourn our murdered Matteotti, and the Socialist hostages murdered in Georgia. Thus this memorial day of the International brings up great joy and deep grief—grief because of the fact that we have not only to protest against the persecutions of our capitalist enemies, but also against those who once stood at our side.

But this period of confusion will pass, just as Bakuninism was overcome in the 'seventies. The sooner Russia is freed from her isolation the sooner will this result be attained. The Treaty which Great Britain is about to sign with Russia may be an important step in this direction.

Though it is true we have had to live through painful times, we may to-day rejoice at the growth of the International Movement. The hopes and thoughts of the men in St. Martin's Hall will yet be realised.

"One element of success the workers possess—numbers." On this the Labour and Socialist International builds its house. It is not a sort of "enlightened absolutism" of a proletarian minority that can achieve the new order of Socialism, we must only rely on the masses inspired by the spirit of Socialism. Thus, in this hour, we appeal to all those who stand aloof to join the fighting army of Labour. Let all those come who are willing to abide by the rules of the majority of the working classes, to fight on the basis of the self-determination of Labour against Capitalism. Our ranks are growing, our alliance is tightening. With a new hope of victory we once more join in the call, just as we did sixty years ago: Proletarians of all countries, unite.

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.
LONDON, 28th September, 1924.

A Tribute to Karl Marx.

On the afternoon of the 28th September, the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International, accompanied by their guests of honour, the members of the first International still active in the Labour Movement, Edouard Bernstein (Germany), Dr. G. B. Clark (Great Britain), Herman Greulich (Switzerland), and Henri Hubert Van Kol (Holland), together with Karl and Louise Kautsky, betook themselves to the grave of Karl Marx in the old cemetery at Highgate in London. As the cemetery rules do not allow speaking in the grounds, the ceremony was silent, but therefore all the more impressive. Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the International, placed a wreath on the grave, and each member of the Executive in passing by laid a few red carnations on the resting place of the International's founder.

A short commemorative meeting was then held outside the house where Karl Marx died, 41 Maitland Park Road. Bracke (France) spoke in French:—

As we were not allowed to speak in the cemetery, another thought has taken the place of the speech I intended to make there. It is quite right that we should not have spoken at the cemetery, because it is not the death of Marx which we are remembering, but his work, which lives in the International and by the International, and which we want to carry on. Therefore it is more fitting that this meeting should be held outside the field of death where the body of Marx now rests. We want to think of *Life*, the life of the working class which, from the bequest of Marx, has gained valuable lessons and not empty formulas. They tried to hold us back from his body, some would even rob us of his memory, but we will not let it be taken from us either by capitalists or by those who are misleading the working class. Not only did Marx found the International. His immortal writings are the very voice of the International, and the International will for ever be associated with his works.

Karl Kautsky then spoke in German:—

To-day as I stood in the cemetery, and now as I stand here, a flood of memories are sweeping over me. I had the happiness of knowing Marx personally in all his greatness and loveableness. Many hours have I spent in that house we are now looking at. I met him at a most unhappy time when his wife was very ill and he himself also suffering. Though the shadows of death were hovering over his home, still he found time to pass many hours with me, a young man who, one year previously, had written a book with which, most likely, Marx was by no means in sympathy. But we have not met here to conjure up personal memories. We are celebrating the International's sixtieth birthday, which is inseparably bound up with Karl Marx, for he was not alone its great genius, but its soul, its head, its embodiment. Therefore we are not commemorating the German Marx, the French or English Marx, but the Marx who belongs to the whole working class of the world. The wheels of fate made Marx to a certain extent German, French and English at the same time, and so he was able to see into the minds of all workers and to find the language which brought them closer together.

Next to his scientific achievements, which were so great that they are still our best guide after 60 years, there is his character, his sacrifices to the working-class cause. To this cause he had offered up everything—his means, his health, almost his family. His unselfishness has only been surpassed by one—Friedrich Engels. What Marx revealed above all was the strong faith by which he was inspired and which never left him. He saw the downfall of the 1849 Revolution, the overthrow of the Commune in 1871, the decline of the International, the beginning of the laws against Socialists in Germany when the German Party

seemed to be completely crushed; also it was his misfortune to see the failure of the first revolutionary movement in Russia. In addition to that, he was frequently isolated amongst his own Party comrades when he spoke to them the truth—the bitter truth. In spite of all this he never doubted, never despaired. We must stand firm as he did. We shall follow the flag which he unfurled.

The third speaker, E. Belfort-Bax, spoke in English:—

We are gathered together this afternoon to celebrate a great historical event. The September of 1864 opened up a new epoch in the development of human society. Who knows but that in some future the year 1864 may not supersede the Christian era as the basis of our time-reckoning.

In any case the foundation of the first International marks the beginning of the modern Socialist movement. On casting one's mind back to 1864, one cannot but be impressed by the enormous change in human affairs these sixty years have to show. We are often apt to be impatient with the slowness of progress. But if we consider for a moment what place the idea of Social Democracy, of modern Socialism, held in the mind of the world of 1864 and what place it holds in the mind of the world of 1924; if we think of the influence the proletariat had in public affairs in 1864 and the influence it has now, with all one's pessimism as to the slowness of the march of progress, one is driven to repeat the exclamation of Galileo: "But still it moves."

The situation is very different since we met in this spot in the spring of 1884 to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, under the leadership of our dear old comrade, H. M. Hyndman. The international idea has made progress since the Great War. Not only have we got a renewed Socialist International, but the movement for internationalism is widespread generally. We may hope that sixty years hence, in 1984, a huge gathering of men and women may be witnessed where we are to-day, in a world which will show a far greater change from the present of 1924 than that does to the world of 1864, a change which shall mean Socialism no longer militant but triumphant.

On the occasion of this celebration, the Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International had had prepared, by photographic means, a re-issue of the first English edition of the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association (1864). In connection with the London meeting, the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International met on the 29th September, 1924, in a social gathering to celebrate Karl Kautsky's seventieth birthday. Representatives of all nations were there to congratulate the eminent teacher of the international working classes.

Demonstrations for the sixtieth anniversary of the International took place in all countries, some on the anniversary itself, some on the 21st September, 1924, in connection with the Anti-War Demonstration arranged for this day by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

For the May-Day Celebration, 1925, the Labour and Socialist International issued the following appeal:—

TO ALL MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS!

Once more May Day is here with its call to working men and women to turn aside from their daily toils and sorrows and to demonstrate in favour of the great ideals of the working class.

Last year, the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, we renewed our vow not to waver in the *war against war*. The struggle for peace still holds the foremost place in all our endeavours. An important step on the way to securing peace by arrangement and arbitration would have been made by the Geneva Protocol. Labour, the one real standard bearer of world peace, realises its most important task to be that of carrying on the fight for the principles of the Protocol. Real, lasting peace still seems very remote. New dangers of war are still looming, particularly in the East. That is why on May Day we shall demand

THE SECURITY OF PEACE UNDER LABOUR'S CONTROL.

But we all know that, when Labour has won the battle for peace, it will only have laid the foundations on which to start the *battle for a better world*. The minimum claim of workers struggling for a life worth living, the first and fundamental guarantee of working-class progress, is the *Eight-Hour Day*. It

has yet not been universally secured. Nor is it generally protected by an international law against capitalist attacks. That is why, on May Day, we shall demand

THE RATIFICATION OF THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION FOR THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

These are only two of the great practical tasks which Labour has set out to accomplish. Unemployment, now affecting millions, and the huge differences in the wages of workers of different countries, bring home to the worker the inefficiency and inhumanity of the capitalist system, and stiffens his determination to *build up a new and better world*. The past year has shown the working-class movement in most countries to be marching ahead, and Labour at the polls is *working towards a majority*. But greater power entails greater responsibilities and problems. To tackle these problems our *International Congress* will meet next August. Labour's ranks in various countries are not yet as close as they might be. Labour's greatest need in all countries is unity. That is why, on May Day, we ask you to start preparing, by an intensive campaign of organisation and unification, for

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Administrative Committee of the L.S.I.

The ascent of the working class during these sixty years embodies a vast sum of self-forgetful labour and of heroic sacrifice. From this heroism of the mass, from the silent daily sacrifice on the part of millions of unnamed comrades who, collectively as a motive force, remould the world and shape history, the figures of the leaders emerge to the front.

Our Dead.

During the period of this Report a well-deserved posthumous honour was rendered to one of these great personalities, a martyr to the International: on the 23rd November, 1924, to the accompaniment of the solemn mourning of the French people, the remains of Jean Jaurès were transferred to the Pantheon. Further, during this period, the Labour and Socialist International had regretfully to record the loss of widely-known comrades and of beloved leaders who have joined the ranks of the *International's dead*. On the 22nd March, 1924, departed Vlastimil TUSAR, one of the best brains of the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat. On the 10th June, 1924, Giacomo MATTEOTTI died a martyr's death for freedom. On the 30th October, 1924, the Secretary of the German Labour Party in Czecho-Slovakia—Comrade Karl CERMAK—succumbed to illness while still a young man. On the 24th February and on the 5th May, 1925, died in quick succession two founders and leaders of Swedish Social Democracy—Hjalmar BRANTING, the most eminent Socialist statesman of Sweden, and Fredrik Wilhelm THORSSON. On the 28th February passed the first President of the German Republic, the first man from the working people to stand at the head of the State—Friedrich EBERT. The passing of these men showed the whole transformation in the position of the working class in society, so that when these Labour leaders died whole peoples and States mourned them.

Through these painful losses, the working class moves irresistibly forward. Conscious of having fulfilled, if not exaggerated expectations in any case, all its duty, the Labour and Socialist International now strides on towards a new chapter of its task. It can look back on a piece of successful constructive work in international organisation, concerning which the succeeding pages will report.

2. THE REPARATIONS QUESTION.

When the initial Congress of the Labour and Socialist International was sitting in Hamburg, the whole world lay under the stress of the unsolved problems in Western Europe. The Occupation of the Ruhr (January, 1923) had made the political situation more acute than at any

moment since the close of the war. In the speeches of Comrades Blum, Hilferding, Vandervelde and Sidney Webb in Hamburg, the International drew up a balance of this position and stigmatised the failure of capitalism to resolve, by the means hitherto employed, the problem of Reparations; and the resolution of the Hamburg Congress set forth emphatically the other means previously elaborated by the representatives of the Socialist Parties, especially at the Five Nations' Conference in Frankfurt, 1922. Accordingly, the Congress demanded :—

(1) The final settlement of the sum still due from Germany at a figure equivalent, at present values, to the actual amount due for material reparations.

(2) The adoption of a plan of payment which, by means of international credit operations, shall make it possible for Germany to free itself in the shortest time practicable from its burden of indebtedness, whilst at the same time placing at the disposal of the creditor states the funds necessary for their reparations.

(3) The conclusion of agreements between the various Governments securing that all such payments shall be devoted exclusively to reparations in the strict sense of the word.

In consequence, the United States and the Allied Powers must

- (a) abandon any claim for payments from Germany towards military pensions ;
- (b) agree to universal cancelling of the inter-allied governmental debts.

As a sequel to the Congress, particularly in France and Belgium, came violent slanderous attacks by the Nationalists upon our comrades who had voted for these resolutions. In the meanwhile, during the weeks and months following the Hamburg Congress, the situation, especially in the Ruhr, darkened from day to day. Military occupation and passive resistance were followed in Germany by increased inflation. The German workers, whom the capitalists had at first tried to lure into the fiction of "common interests" in the Ruhr, were soon to perceive that their attitude was only being misused by the employers to enrich themselves shamelessly at the expense of the German nation, whereas it was the workers first and foremost who had to pay the bill of the conflict in the Ruhr. Inflation depreciated wages in the worker's very hand, and made salaries and pensions dwindle down from day to day, nay, from hour to hour, with a terribly accelerating rapidity. The powerful organisations of the German working class, their Press, their Trade Unions, their Party, all seemed threatened with collapse.

These occurrences imposed a severe test upon the newly-founded International. "The involved political situation," runs the Report submitted by the Secretariat to the Executive at its sitting in Luxembourg, "which has again and again become acute to the very point of catastrophe, made it imperative to ascertain whether mass action would be appropriate. However, it appeared to the Secretariat, the Administrative Committee, and the Bureau, that there was not at any moment an opportunity for instant effective intervention owing to the perpetual change in the situation. The Secretariat has always been aware that we are still only at the very outset of our new development as an organisation, that we must not nurse any exaggerated hopes, but that the actual growth has surpassed all our expectations."

In two sittings, on the 13th June and 3rd July, the Administrative Committee first dealt with the situation and decided to summon a Bureau meeting, which was held in Brussels on the 11th July, 1923, but owing to the absence, through no fault of his own, of the German representative, could not reach any further decision than the summoning of a Conference of all Parties directly interested in the question of the Ruhr. (See page 80). This Conference sat at Easton Lodge, near London (see page 85),

on the 22nd July, and decided to despatch Comrade Shaw to the Ruhr in order to examine conditions on the spot, to hear the grievances of the working people, to consult with reliable local leaders, and to submit a report to the International.

Comrade Shaw made a journey to the Ruhr from the 7th to the 17th August, 1923, and on his return submitted the following :—

REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN THE RUHR.

The resolution which instructed me to visit the Ruhr was couched in the following terms :—

"In view of the exchange of notes and opinions between the Allied Governments regarding the occupation of the Ruhr and matters arising out of it to request Mr. Tom Shaw to go to the Ruhr and report afterwards what are the steps it is possible to take to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the difficulty."

It was also understood that I was to convey to our comrades in the Ruhr all information as to the steps which had been taken to get a solution of the difficulty, and to hear from them what the present position was.

Owing to an unfortunate series of events, including the closing of the frontiers between the newly-occupied territory and the rest of Germany, it was impossible to make satisfactory arrangements in advance, but in a series of six meetings I met the leading Trade Union and Political Party officials, conveyed my information to them and received their opinions and impressions in return. I found that our comrades in the Ruhr were in reality very much isolated, that they had little or no knowledge of the latest developments, and were almost in a state of desperation. I explained to them what were the Socialist proposals arranged at Berlin and what had been done in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Cologne and Paris, in addition, and detailed the steps that had been taken to bring about negotiations and, so far as possible, exactly what the position was in Italy, Belgium, France and Britain from the Socialist point of view. I asked them to be quite frank and outspoken with me, and to tell me exactly what they were feeling, in order that I might convey the information to representatives of the International. I explained that the position in Italy was not unfavourable to negotiations; in Britain it was more favourable than it had ever been; in Belgium a change for the better had taken place, but unfortunately in France the reverse was the case.

One of the Trade Union representatives in Essen, speaking apparently with the full concurrence of the majority of the delegates present, told me that the workers in the Ruhr had lost all confidence in outside intervention; that they had had too many foreign delegates who had uttered fine phrases, but they saw no results of a satisfactory character; that it appeared to them they must rely absolutely on their own resources; and that it was useless to expect help from anybody.

I believe I succeeded, both in Dortmund and in Essen, in convincing our comrades that a great deal had been done. I asked them to believe that the work would be continued and that, if we failed, it would be from want of strength and not from want of intention and work.

Let me try to recapitulate the impressions I gained during my Ruhr visit: In Cologne, which is under British occupation, I found the outlook of our comrades a very pessimistic one. Everybody seemed to fear that something was going to happen, but no one knew what the happening was likely to be. Some were afraid of a nationalist uprising, others were afraid the Communists might take advantage of the position, others again feared that the intensive French propaganda (which it is alleged is going on) might lead to an attempt to form a Rhineland Republic, in which latter case there was a danger of civil war between the Germans themselves. There was not only fear of a shortage of food, but there was an actual shortage of paper money. The measures taken by the French and Belgian troops had prevented paper money reaching the Rhineland area, and the outlook was black in the extreme. It was stated that the British who were in occupation apparently no longer took any interest in the condition of the Cologne area, and that, in effect, their attitude had hardened. The co-operative organisations were at their wits' ends as to how they should deal with the situation. I had an interview with prominent British officials in Cologne, in which I stated the opinions I had heard, and my last information before leaving Cologne was that measures had been taken which were likely to alleviate the immediate difficulties.

In order to be certain of arriving at my destination, I hired a motor-car to go to Dortmund. The Sperre or closing of the frontier between unoccupied and occupied territory had prevented the Secretary of the local party from

getting home from Berlin, consequently there was considerable delay, but finally I attended a small meeting of officials and arranged to attend a larger meeting of representatives from the whole district a few days later.

I must rapidly resume the opinions expressed: Again, as at Cologne, there was the same haunting fear of a shortage of food. There was a shortage of paper money which was so acute that many of the workers had not been able to get their wages. Various attempts had been made to loot shops, and the condition of the people was so desperate and they were so highly strung that it was possible for anything to happen at any moment. The only trains that were running were trains run by the French Régie, and the overwhelming majority of the Ruhr population refused to have anything to do with them. The only possibility of bringing food into the district was therefore by motor and horse-drawn traffic. This traffic was quite insufficient to feed a part of the country in which, previous to the war, thousands of trains ran daily conveying passengers and supplies. Frequent allegations were made about the brutalities committed by the occupying troops, but it appeared on close investigation that the brutalities alleged had considerably diminished.

The condition, so far as prices were concerned, was fantastic. It is useless to attempt to present a report on the economic position. That changes from day to day and what is true one day will be quite untrue another. For instance, in five days, prices increased 100, 200 and 300 per cent. It is impossible, of course, for any arrangement of wages to follow such violent fluctuations as these. A casual walk through the streets shows that shops of all kinds are rapidly being denuded of their goods, and it will need only a short time longer at the present rate of progress for Ruhr towns to become as bad as the towns in the East of Europe were immediately after the war.

The general position of the responsible delegates from the unions and political party may be summed up in the following way:—

- (1) No settlement will be acceptable that does not give the workers freedom, which they demand even under French occupation.
- (2) No settlement can be accepted unless the expelled and imprisoned workers are restored to their homes.
- (3) The present state of uncertainty in which the worker can be turned out of his home at a moment's notice must cease.

So far as the sum to be paid for reparations is concerned, to the Ruhr workers a few millions of gold marks are nothing. What they insist upon is that the production and distribution of goods shall be in German hands, and that French and Belgian bayonets should not be used in any way to compel people to work.

If these terms could be agreed, the Ruhr workers would be willing to-morrow to give up passive resistance. It was admitted on all hands that the people were weary of the present state of affairs, and would welcome nothing more than a settlement which would permit them to get back to work at wages. They look upon the invasion of the Ruhr as a direct breach of the Treaty of Versailles, and complain that all the excesses that were committed in the heat of the war are being committed in cold blood and in peace by the troops in the Ruhr.

And now, having summarised, as shortly as I could, the impression gained at the meetings and by personal observation, I would like to give my personal impressions: The first is that it is eminently essential, if it be at all possible, to get negotiation for a settlement. In a population of several millions, all of whom are filled with a vague fear that something desperate is going to happen, and where bitterness has been engendered by what is considered a long period of oppression, an explosion may take place at any moment. I believe that if a really prominent and able man, supported by a dozen able and loyal followers, decided to raise an insurrection in the Ruhr, it would be quite easy so to do. I would go so far as to say that, whether the man be Communist, Social Democrat, or even Nationalist, if he were determined and able he could rouse the whole population to revolt. Even if passive resistance broke down owing to shortage of food and desperation so far as a proportion of the people is concerned, there would still be a horrible danger of civil conflict between those who are willing to give up the resistance and those who insisted on its continuance.

In the meetings I attended there were a number of speakers who advocated the cessation of passive resistance, but the terms they put down as conditions of that cessation have been outlined above. It is impossible to convey in words the impression of uncertainty and danger that one receives in the Ruhr and even in the Rhineland.

As I was instructed to report what steps it is possible to take to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the difficulty, I will now state my opinions and make my recommendations. My opinions are:—

- (1) That unless negotiations can be begun at the earliest possible moment there is a danger of a terrible outbreak in the Ruhr.
- (2) That the Ruhr population is quite prepared for a reasonable compromise.
- (3) That it realises that it is impossible to expect the French to leave the Ruhr without an arrangement being made in advance and that, given guarantees of anything like a reasonable settlement being arrived at, and freedom to work in a normal way, the Ruhr workers are quite prepared to give up passive resistance.

As from the purely French point of view—not speaking for the moment of the Socialist point of view—there can be no reparations gained by either a Nationalist, a Communist or a Socialist rising, I suggest that we should concentrate all the public opinion possible on the French Government to get them to state definitely what conditions they are prepared to guarantee if passive resistance be suspended. I firmly believe that if the parties can be brought together to negotiate it would be possible to save the French *amour propre* and to liberate the Ruhr. If this be not done I see nothing but the gradual sinking of the Ruhr into a condition of inefficiency and decay from which it will take years to recover.

On the 3rd and 4th October, 1923, by decision of the Administrative Committee, another meeting of the Bureau was held in Brussels for the purpose of a common discussion with the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The resolution (see page 27) put forward by the French and Belgian delegates and unanimously adopted by the Conference, emphatically restated once again the proposals which the international working class has advanced for the settlement of the Reparations problem and, as measures of immediate urgency, demanded:

- (1) The return of those expelled from the Ruhr and the proclamation of an amnesty to all those who have been punished simply because they have refused to carry out the orders of the occupying forces.
- (2) The re-establishment of intercourse between occupied and unoccupied Germany.
- (3) The withdrawing of the obligations imposed on German officials to render an oath of fidelity to the occupying forces, against which practice, during the war, the populations of the countries occupied raised the most legitimate and energetic protestations.
- (4) The commencing of negotiations immediately between the German and the Allied countries without new conditions.

In November, 1923, the Secretariat issued the following Manifesto:—
TO THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST PARTIES OF ALL COUNTRIES.

Poincaré's policy has become the predominant policy in Europe. All the appalling consequences which the L.S.I. foresaw at its initial Congress in Hamburg last May, have become accomplished facts. Reaction in France has forced together the reactionary agencies of Germany. The same nationalist ecstasy, of which Poincaré is the ruling spirit, has flamed out amongst the German bourgeoisie. The Hitlers and Ludendorffs are preaching fantastic ideas of revenge. The exploitation aims of French capitalism, which were the chief causes of the invasion of the Ruhr, and the exploitation methods of Stinnes and his confederates, who are acting hand in hand with the bourgeois governments of Cuno and Stresemann, have brought the German Working Classes face to face with Hunger in its most appalling shape. Hunger, Reaction and Despair have gained the upper hand in Germany. The moment of open civil war has come. The Hitlers and Ludendorffs have for the moment been suppressed, but reaction is by no means conquered. The dangers arising from economic distress and political disturbances in Germany are threatening the whole of Europe and are increasing from hour to hour.

The L.S.I. expects that all affiliated parties will do whatever is in their power to avert the dangers menacing the Working Classes of all countries in this critical hour. We recognise how limited is the power of the proletariat to help any movement outside their own countries at the present time, but the little which can be done *must* be done with the greatest possible speed. For

this reason we propose to start a fund in order to render effective assistance to those countries where the most strenuous efforts are necessary to further the Workers' cause.

Poincaré's victory has destroyed not only the economic and political possibilities of Germany, but also the economic basis of the German Working-Class Organisations. Some newspapers have already been forced to cease publication: other papers are threatened daily with the same fate. The important administrative organ of German Social Democracy, the second strongest Labour Party of the world, is in danger of becoming paralysed as the result of financial difficulties. We therefore appeal to the Labour Parties of all countries to contribute according to their means

FOR THE VICTIMS

of Poincaré's policy and of the equivocal policy of Stresemann. These contributions would be utilised in the first instance to enable German Social Democracy to carry on its work. At the same time funds are needed

FOR THE STRUGGLE

against the continuance of Poincaré's policy. The root of the political decision is in France. The French Socialist Party has, unfortunately, been weakened by the irresponsible method of Communist splits. With incessant energy the French Socialists have striven to keep alive their daily paper, the *Populaire*. However, the French Party is in danger of losing this most important weapon just before the decisive election campaign. The Belgian Party has proved its international solidarity by making extraordinary sacrifices for the *Populaire*. The time has now arrived when the Labour Parties of all other countries must step into the breach.

We therefore ask you, if at all possible, to place at our disposal a certain portion of your existing Party Funds, and to inaugurate general collections in order

TO AID GERMAN AND FRENCH SOCIALISM.

We know, only too well, how the parties in each country are themselves struggling against financial difficulties, how post-war distress and unemployment and low wages have impoverished the working classes. But we trust that, despite all these difficulties in the respective countries, the international solidarity of the proletariat will prove itself in this hour of need.

Some parties have already started subscriptions on their own initiative, some countries for the German Party, the Belgians for the French Party. We ask nothing better than the continuance of these efforts. We will in no way interfere with the carrying on of these collections, being convinced that the parties themselves know the best means of assuring success. But we cannot too often repeat

SPEEDY HELP IS EQUALLY NECESSARY IN GERMANY AND IN FRANCE.

Please send contributions direct to the German and French Parties, addressed respectively to: OTTO WELS, BERLIN, S.W.68, Lindenstrasse 3, and PAUL FAURE, 12 Rue Feydeau, PARIS, 2.

So that the Secretariat may know the results obtained we would ask the affiliated parties to let us know what sums they are contributing to the above causes.

THE SECRETARIES OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL,
FRIEDRICH ADLER.
TOM SHAW.

This Manifesto provoked a sharp campaign of calumny, especially on the part of the French Nationalists. During the electoral battle they strove by means of incomplete quotations, and in particular by omitting Comrade Faure's address, to create the impression that the Manifesto contained an appeal to send money to Germany for fighting Poincaré. However, this campaign, which found an echo even in the French Chamber, fell flat, and our French comrades were able to destroy this tissue of lies.

It was only in the course of the winter 1923-1924, that the situation was eased. Thanks to the untiring efforts of the Socialists there dawned first in Belgium and then in France a recognition that even from the point of view of the ruling classes in these countries the over-employment of force was bad business, costing more than it brought in. Under the pressure of Budget figures and of Socialist propaganda, the Governments began to look around for other means, and the Experts' Commission set to work.

When in February, 1924, the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International met in Luxemburg, it found itself faced with a changed situation: the capitalist Governments were seeking a mutual understanding.

The outlines of a plan for setting Germany on her feet again became visible. With reference to this project the Executive in its resolutions adopted at Luxemburg clearly defined its position. (See page 28). It laid down:—

That events have completely justified us. We have always emphasised the uselessness and the dangers of a policy of violence and of force. It is a disgrace to humanity that nearly five years after the formal conclusion of the Peace Treaty, the populations of large territories are still under the arbitrary domination of the militarism of the victors. We maintain more strongly than ever the repeated demand of the International for the evacuation of occupied territories at the earliest possible moment.

At the same time we repeat that the restoration of districts devastated by the horrors of war must be carried out without delay or subterfuge.

Admittedly it is a step in advance that, since the Labour Party came into power, capitalist Governments have been themselves compelled to aim at a peaceful economic settlement of the Reparations problem, but, at the same time, the Executive desires to draw attention to the fact that even a peaceful economic solution of this problem, such as capitalist Governments are now endeavouring to find, may become a serious menace to the international proletariat.

If, for instance, this settlement were to impose upon the German working class burdens which could only be borne by an extension of the Eight-Hour Day in Germany, and by a distinct reduction in the actual wages of the German workers, the mechanism of capitalist competition would compel other countries to lengthen their working day and reduce wages. Reparations would then actually be paid, not by the capitalist classes of Germany, who were responsible for the war, and who had been enriched by the consequences of the war, but by the working classes of all countries.

The Executive, therefore, warns the workers of all countries against a serious danger. Capitalist Governments, which have already reduced the standard of living of the workers by disputes over the Reparations question, may try to reduce this standard still further by an agreement as to the settlement of the Reparations problem by purely capitalist methods.

In view of these dangers, the Executive declares that the agreement of the Reparations problem should not only render possible the evacuation of the occupied territories, and bring about an adjustment between the claims of France and Belgium, and the necessity of stabilising the currencies and restoring the economic balance of Europe, but should also protect the international working classes against a too extreme German competition by re-establishing the Eight-Hour Day in Germany and maintaining it all over the world. In this way the burden of Reparations would be placed on German capital rather than on German Labour.

When the Executive met again in Vienna in June, 1924, there was in addition to the British Labour Government, which had been in office since January, 1924, the Herriot Government in France, brought about by the victory at the polls of the Left on the 11th May, 1924. This marked a hopeful turning in European politics. The Executive could confine itself to noting:—

"... that all Labour and Socialist Parties directly concerned with the Experts' Report are completely of the same opinion."

When the question of the acceptance of the Dawes Plan by the interested States became immediate and the London Conference of Governments was called, a joint meeting on the eve of this Conference was held between the Bureaus of the Labour and Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam on 14th July, 1924, in order to define their attitude. The voice of the

international working class was to be heard at the Conference of Governments. The resolution of both Internationals (see page 29) lays down:—

This Conference declares that the Experts' Plan endeavours to solve the Reparations problem by imposing burdens which, proportionally, fall much more heavily on the working class than on the capitalist classes of Germany. It also exposes the German State Railways to foreign capitalist influence.

This Conference therefore declares that, for this reason, it is impossible to look upon this solution as compatible with the claims of the Trade Union and the Socialist Internationals.

Notwithstanding all the defects and omissions of the Experts' Report, the failure of the present attempt would not portend the possibility of anything better in its place but would, on the contrary, merely serve to intensify the crisis of Europe. Under these circumstances the carrying out of the Experts' Plan seems to be the only immediate solution possible at the present time.

This Conference demands the simultaneous cessation of the military and economic occupation of the Ruhr.

This Conference further demands that Germany shall be invited by the London Conference, and that the negotiations shall be on a basis of equality, instead of a basis of compulsory acceptance or rejection of proposals, as hitherto.

This Conference places on record the necessity of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day being ratified in all countries without delay. Noting that the Dawes Plan implicitly excludes any attack upon the Eight-Hour system in Germany, this Conference requests an agreement concerning the carrying out of that report so as to guarantee the maintenance of the Eight-Hour Day in Germany, and, in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the Labour Group at the recent International Labour Conference at Geneva, asks the International Labour Office to continue its efforts towards assuring the Eight-Hour Day.

Above all, this Conference strongly urges that measures responding to all requests put forward in the Frankfurt resolutions be adopted as soon as possible, in addition to the Dawes Plan.

The significance of the London Conference lay in this—that for the first time in the history of the post-war period it substituted reason for force. In this sense the London Agreement was approved by the Parties of France, England and Belgium, and the German Socialists made it the watchword of the fight between the partisans of force and those of conciliation, which at the Parliamentary elections of the 7th December, 1924, reached its issue in the victory of the policy of Conciliation.

Notwithstanding, the electoral result failed to attain its full expression either in Germany's domestic policies or international politics. A new unfavourable turn was given to the latter by other occurrences, especially the resignation of the British Labour Government, which, in the course of the coming months, more and more pulled down the results already achieved. The settlement of the Reparations question remained stationary at the point to which it had been brought by the London Conference. Not only did it fail to make progress, but there was on the contrary, retrogression, such as the prolonging of the occupation of Cologne, against which the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International at its sitting in Brussels in January, 1925, raised a vigorous protest. (See page 30).

The undeniable success attained in the settlement of the Reparations question by the policy of understanding advocated by the International and the Socialist Parties is thus, though very encouraging, yet altogether incomplete. Certainly our Belgian and French comrades in particular can point out with satisfaction that the policy now recognised even by the bourgeois parties in their countries as the only possible one, was a short while back advocated by Socialists alone, against slander and vilification, in the face of unbridled nationalism. Nevertheless, the attainment is insufficient. The problem of the inter-allied debts, intimately interlinked with the Reparations question, is still unsolved. The International's demand that in settling the Reparations question account

should also be taken of social considerations, is still unrealised, and above all the distribution of burdens in Germany is still not so ordered as to avert the dangers threatening from that direction both the German and the International working class. More especially, however, the settlement of the Reparations question is itself only a half solution of the Western European problems, whose other half is the question of security, itself bound up with the wider problems of disarmament, of arbitration, of the League of Nations, in the whole complex of the legal, technical and organisational bases of peace. Thus a direct link connects the International's activity in the sphere of the Reparations question on one side with its efforts for the international safeguarding of the Eight-Hour Day, on the other side with its efforts towards Disarmament and Arbitration which are to be described in special chapters of this Report.

The resolutions relating to the Reparations question run as follows:—

Resolution of the Joint Conference of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U., at Brussels (October, 1923).

THE OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR.

(1) In their constant effort to re-establish a solid and stable peace in Europe, the trade union and political organisations of the workers from the first applied themselves to find a just and effective settlement of the problem of Reparations. The English, French and Belgian workers came to a complete understanding on the matter with the German workers. Notably the resolutions of Amsterdam and Frankfurt gave a precise form to this agreement, and the value of the proposals is shown by the fact that experts and men of good faith are becoming increasingly unanimous in favour of them, and particularly are the following political proposals finding support in all circles and all countries:—

- (a) The obligation on the part of Germany to restore the devastated regions to the full extent of her capacity, this capacity to be determined by an impartial authority.
- (b) The annulment of the charges imposed on Germany for military pensions contrary to the 14 points of President Wilson, which were reciprocally accepted as the basis of the Armistice.
- (c) The annulment of inter-allied war debts.
- (d) The adoption of the system of reparations in kind and in labour in the possible measure of its application.
- (e) The emission of loans for the prompt execution of reparations and the transformation of the German debts to the Allies into an ordinary debt of a non-political character.

(2) The interested States have not followed this policy of peace and true reconstruction. Whilst the workers agreed the Governments refused to agree. The representatives of the Allied Powers cannot even agree on what should be demanded from Germany, and their disagreement has further aggravated the already precarious situation in Europe. Finally, by recourse to brutal force contrary to International Law—really an act of war—the French and Belgian Governments, taking as a pretext a minor failure to carry out the arrangements made, have occupied the Ruhr basin. They have expelled from their homes over a hundred thousand workers, suppressed the most elementary citizen rights, and have brutally separated from Germany a region essential to her economic existence. They have provoked economic chaos, misery, want, and the most frightful social disorganisation.

(3) The workers of France and Belgium, in agreement with all the sections of the two Internationals, have never ceased to protest with all the energy at their command against this attack on the rights of peoples and workers. They have never ceased to call public attention to the fact that this wrong action is also bad business. The facts have demonstrated how right the workers were. The policy of M. Poincaré, with which the Belgian Government has associated itself, has not produced reparations. The "productive pledges" have proved sterile. Violence has always produced only disaster. German distress has put back the possibility of settlement and is increasing economic difficulties all over the world. The political crisis in Germany and the chaos which menaces her threatens all Europe. Never before have we been confronted by a crisis of such gravity. The whole of Western civilisation will be imperilled if care be not taken.

(4) The workers organisations call the attention of all workers to this danger. They recall the fact that violence provokes violence, and that if violence be permitted to be used against the German workers, all workers risk being the victims, in their turn, of war externally, and the brutal dictatorship of Fascism internally. They demand a redoublement of propaganda for peace and international understanding.

They address an urgent appeal to the United States to take their full part in securing the peace and financial and economic reconstruction of the world. The workers' organisations denounce energetically the policy of M. Poincaré and all those who, after the cessation of passive resistance, aim at the dismemberment and the economic disorganisation of Germany, and impose new and ever increasingly rigorous conditions to hinder the commencement of negotiations. They recall attention at this critical moment to the imperious and urgent necessity of:—

- (1) The return of those expelled from the Ruhr and the proclamation of an amnesty to all those who have been punished simply because they have refused to carry out the orders of the occupying forces;
- (2) The re-establishment of intercourse between occupied and unoccupied Germany;
- (3) The withdrawing of the obligations imposed on German officials to render an oath of fidelity to the occupying forces, against which practice, during the war, the populations of the countries occupied raised the most legitimate and energetic protestations;
- (4) The commencing of negotiations immediately between the German and the Allied countries without new conditions.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Luxemburg, February, 1924.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The International has from its outset always appealed to the moral forces of humanity as the basis of that new social order to which the working class aspires. It wishes all success to British comrades, inspired by these same ideals in their efforts to infuse a new spirit into international policy, which till now has been the battlefield for the rapacious capitalist interests of the various nations.

In the present situation the Executive Committee of the International does not consider it necessary to repeat the declarations it has so often made on the fundamental conditions of a policy of peace and reconciliation after that world war which was the outcome of the old capitalist and anti-democratic régime. It is sufficient to state that events have completely justified us. We have always emphasised the uselessness and the dangers of a policy of violence and force. It is a disgrace to humanity that nearly five years after the formal conclusion of the Peace Treaty the populations of large territories are still under the arbitrary domination of the militarism of the victors. We maintain more strongly than ever the repeated demand of the International for the evacuation of occupied territories at the earliest possible moment.

At the same time we repeat that the restoration of districts devastated by the horrors of war must be carried out without delay or subterfuge.

Admittedly it is a step in advance that, since the Labour Party came into power, capitalist Governments have been themselves compelled to aim at a peaceful economic settlement of the Reparations problem, but, at the same time, the Executive desires to draw attention to the fact that even a peaceful economic solution of this problem, such as capitalist Governments are now endeavouring to find, may become a serious menace to the international proletariat.

If, for instance, this settlement were to impose upon the German working class burdens which could only be borne by an extension of the Eight-Hour Day in Germany, and by a distinct reduction in the actual wages of the German workers, the mechanism of capitalist competition would compel other countries to lengthen their working day and reduce wages. Reparations would then actually be paid, not by the capitalist classes of Germany, who were responsible for the war, and who had been enriched by the consequences of the war, but by the working classes of all countries.

The Executive, therefore, warns the workers of all countries against a serious danger. Capitalist Governments, which have already reduced the standard of living of the workers by disputes over the Reparations question, may try to reduce this standard still further by an agreement as to the settlement of the Reparations problem by purely capitalist methods.

In view of these dangers, the Executive declares that the agreement of the Reparations problem should not only render possible the evacuation of the occupied territories, and bring about an adjustment between the claims of France and Belgium, and the necessity of stabilising the currencies and restoring the economic balance of Europe, but should also protect the international working classes against a too extreme German competition by re-establishing the Eight-Hour Day in Germany and maintaining it all over the world. In this way the burden of Reparations would be placed on German capital rather than on German labour.

We therefore insist that this serious question of Reparations, which is to-day the foremost question of the world, should be considered, not only from a purely economic and financial point of view, but from a social standpoint as well. We insist also on the absolute necessity of breaking away from out-of-date methods, substituting for them that policy of sincerity and confidence which has always been the policy in the international relations of Labour Parties. Otherwise we shall never attain to that feeling of mutual security which is as important to the peaceful development of the world as is the solution of the Reparations problem. By goodwill and by making the League of Nations, which is still imperfect, more universal and more democratic, it will surely be possible to draw nearer to this feeling of security which is a necessary condition to checking the increase of armaments. Thus the way will be prepared for the general disarmament and compulsory arbitration between states which the International demands, just as it also demands the demilitarisation and neutralisation of certain frontier areas. We hope that there will be thorough investigation of these questions, for on them may depend the future of the human race, now in a state of chaos through the war.

At a moment when, in spite of all, there are certain hopeful aspects, the International appeals once more to the working class and to all those who realise that the working class is to-day the greatest factor in progress, to redouble their efforts in order to obtain a solution of those problems which have so long darkened the horizon.

Extract from the Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Vienna, June, 1924.

The Executive examined the International situation created by the Experts' Report. It declared that all Labour and Socialist Parties directly concerned with the *Experts' Report* are completely of the same opinion, and confirm the resolutions already passed at Luxemburg.

Resolution of the Joint Conference of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. at Amsterdam, July, 1924.

THE EXPERTS' PLAN.

The Conference abstains from examining in its entirety the problem of the economic difficulties into which the great war has plunged the world. These questions were examined by the Amsterdam Conferences in April, 1921, by the Hague Congress in December, 1922, and the Hamburg Congress in May, 1923, and the resolutions passed at these meetings set forth in detail the views of Labour. This Conference, therefore, merely points out to-day that, on the basis of the resolutions of the Five-Country Conference held in March, 1922, at Frankfort, the following demands were formulated:—

- (1) The final settlement of the sums still due from Germany at a figure equivalent at present values, to the actual amount due for material reparations;
- (2) the adoption of a plan of payment which, by means of international credit operations, shall make it possible for Germany to free herself in the shortest time practicable from her burden of indebtedness, whilst, at the same time, placing at the disposal of the creditor States the funds necessary for their reparations;
- (3) The conclusion of agreements between the various Governments securing that all such payments shall be devoted exclusively to reparations in the strict sense of the word. In consequence the United States and the Allied Powers must
 - (a) Abandon any claim for payments from Germany towards military pensions;
 - (b) Agree to universal cancelling of the Inter-Allied Governmental debts.

This Conference declares that the Experts' plan contains certain stipulations in keeping with the first two points of the Frankfort resolutions, but, on the other hand, entirely fails to deal with the third point. It declares that this plan

endeavours to solve the Reparations problem by imposing burdens which, proportionally, fall much more heavily on the working class than on the capitalist classes of Germany. It also exposes the German State Railways to foreign capitalist influence.

This Conference therefore declares that, for this reason, it is impossible to look upon this solution as compatible with the claims of the Trade Union and the Socialist Internationals.

Notwithstanding all the defects and omissions of the Experts' Report, the failure of the present attempt would not portend the possibility of anything better in its place but would, on the contrary, merely serve to intensify the crisis of Europe. Under these circumstances the carrying out of the Experts' Plan seems to be the only immediate solution possible at the present time.

Moreover, the Governments concerned have already agreed to accept, without reservations, the Experts' Report, which entails cessation of the economic occupation of the Ruhr—including that of Dusseldorf, Ruhrort and Duisburg—as soon as the conditions laid down in the Experts' Report shall have been fulfilled.

Any attempt, however, to prolong the military occupation beyond the economic occupation would lead to—

- (1) The continuance of the present state of disturbance and insecurity which is hindering the reestablishment of peace and the reconstruction of Europe;
- (2) The imperilling of the execution of the Experts' Plan by preventing the confidence which the Experts themselves consider essential to its success.

This Conference, therefore, demands the simultaneous cessation of the military and economic occupation of the above-mentioned territories.

This Conference further demands that Germany shall be invited by the London Conference, and that the negotiations shall be on a basis of equality, instead of a basis of compulsory acceptance or rejection of proposals, as hitherto.

This Conference places on record the necessity of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day being ratified in all countries without delay. Noting that the Dawes Plan implicitly excludes any attack upon the Eight-Hour system in Germany, this Conference requests an agreement concerning the carrying out of that report so as to guarantee the maintenance of the Eight-Hour Day in Germany, and, in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the Labour Group at the recent International Labour Conference at Geneva, asks the International Labour Office to continue its efforts towards assuring the Eight-Hour Day.

Above all, this Conference strongly urges that measures responding to all requests put forward in the Frankfurt resolutions be adopted as soon as possible, in addition to the Dawes Plan.

Resolution of the Executive of the L.S.I. at Brussels, January, 1925.

EVACUATION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

The ever-recurring incidents to which the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles concerning disarmament and inter-allied control give rise, will only terminate when the obligations which they impose have ceased to be one-sided, but will be borne by all countries under a system of international control. The Executive demands the inclusion of Germany in the League of Nations as a means towards the international organisation of disarmament and peace. The Executive urges that the public should, by publication of the report of the Commission of Control, be acquainted with the facts on which the prolongation of the occupation are based.

Meanwhile the efforts of German nationalists and militarists to escape control and indulge in secret armaments, efforts against which German democracy asks for strong action from the German Government, constitute a danger of reactionary enterprises against the liberty of the German people themselves and only furnish pretexts for those who, for other reasons, try to prolong the occupation of Cologne beyond the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, as well as the occupation of the Ruhr, and drive neighbouring States to increase their armaments, thus aggravating insecurity in Europe.

Under these conditions the Executive Committee condemns the postponement of the evacuation which hinders the consolidation of peace.

The executive notes the fact that the affiliated parties of Great Britain, Belgium and France are determined energetically to continue their efforts to put an end to the military occupations, whilst the German Socialist Party will continue to fight against all attempt at armament.

3. PROBLEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE.

It was not only the perils in the West which endangered peace as it had been shaped by the World War and by the disposition of states resulting from it. Not less fateful are the *problems of Eastern Europe* which, since the so-called conclusion of peace, is just as far, indeed even farther, from real stability. The Italian seizure of Corfu, the Yugo-Slav-Bulgarian and the Greco-Turkish conflict over the expulsion of the Patriarch from Constantinople, the disorders in Albania, the insurrection of the Kurds—to name only a few of the ever-smouldering fires of strife which flamed up during the period of this Report—all these go to prove that from the blood-stained soil, on which the peoples of the Near East are beginning to shape themselves, to mould their states, and to awake to a historical destiny, fresh sparks are ever and anon being rekindled. Beneath the ashes of old empires there shines a red glow, and the pressure of new tyrannies fans the embers to flame.

Amidst this chaos, as the greatest power in the East, lies a State which commands the close attention of Socialists, not only by its foreign policy, but also by its intrinsic structure—Russia.

(a) RUSSIA AND GEORGIA.

The problematic element involved in the phenomenon of present-day Russia which has made this State the most controversial of modern history, is clearly indicated in the resolution of the Hamburg Congress "On Russia."

The Congress considers it to be the duty of the world's workers to combat with all their strength all endeavours by the imperialist powers to intervene in the home affairs of Russia or to cause a fresh civil war in that country. Therefore, in the name of millions of Socialist proletarians which support it, and in the interest of the Russian, as well as of the entire international working classes, the Congress declares that it opposes the violent intervention of imperialism by the moral intervention of the international proletariat. In order to preserve Russia as a support for the Revolution, and to prevent its becoming a focus of the international reaction, the Congress supports the following demands of the Russian Socialists reminding the Soviet Government of its working-class origin.

(1) The immediate cessation of the persecution of Socialists and workers of different opinions in Russia and in those parts of Georgia occupied by Russian troops, immediate release of all such persons as have been convicted, condemned or exiled for the propaganda of their political convictions;

(2) Complete abandonment of the system of terrorist party dictatorship and the adoption of a régime of political freedom and democratic self-government of the people.

However, it must be frankly admitted that the problematic element in this event was not either realised and understood or, indeed, made clear by all the Socialist Parties, to an equal extent in every one of the countries where the phenomenon of the Russian Revolution and the illusions of Bolshevism had deeply stirred the masses. Wherever the workers had suffered in their own flesh, the crime of the break-up of the proletarian organisations and thereafter saw with their own eyes the moral decline which overtook the majority of the Communist Parties as a result of their financial and political dependence upon Moscow, there this process of enlightenment matured rapidly and to-day is for the most part already complete. But wherever special circumstances, such as the absence of a Communist Party or the utter absurdity of its methods, saved the working class from this painful lesson, there fundamental enlightenment is only proceeding slowly, and is just as much affected by the influence of temporary considerations as is the case conversely in those countries which lie within the immediate political and military orbit of Soviet Russia, and which thus have their historical outlook to a great extent blurred by this too close proximity and by the political situation of the moment.

This alternation of advance and retrogression in the understanding of the Russian problem was echoed in the discussions of the International. The Russian problem and the matters connected with it were dealt with at several sittings of the Administrative Committee, at the meeting of the Bureau in Brussels in October, 1923; were studied exhaustively in January, 1925, as well as being discussed at almost every meeting of the Executive.

Meanwhile, during the period of this Report, a remarkable modification has occurred in the form of the problem itself. Whilst the economic and political situation within Russia—but for the quite recent development of Bolshevism towards a new revision of its economic policy which consists in further compromise with the wealthier peasants and private capital—remained more or less static, the position of Russia as regards foreign politics has considerably changed. It has taken a turn which is primarily owing to the Socialist Parties affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International, namely, *the recognition of the Russian Government by the Powers*. It is impossible to overstress that this—for Russia—decisive event resulted from the policy of the Labour and Socialist International towards Soviet Russia, since it occurred in the most important instances, in those countries where Socialist Parties were able to exert pressure upon their Governments.

The recognition of the Russian Government by the British Labour Government opened the series.*

At its meeting in Luxemburg in February, 1924, the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International recorded with satisfaction:—

That, following the recognition of Soviet Russia by the Governments of England and of Italy, the complete recognition of Soviet Russia by all the other Powers, and the resumption of normal relations between Russia and Europe, will soon be a *fait accompli*. In their view, this is the best means for putting an end to any policy of boycott and blockade, and for the promotion of democracy in Russia.

The Executive, in complete agreement with the resolutions of the Hamburg Congress, supports the efforts made by the Socialist and Labour Parties in different countries with a view to the recognition of Soviet Russia. It requests the affiliated Parties to increase their efforts in those countries where the capitalist classes are resisting the *de jure* recognition of Russia. Special care is necessary lest capitalist Governments impose conditions on the Russian people which would resemble a state of economic slavery. For these reasons the Executive considers it the bounden duty of Socialist and Labour Parties in all countries to support the Russian Socialists in their struggle against the régime of political oppression in Russia.

This resolution was confirmed by the Executive at its meeting in Vienna, June, 1924. The main idea underlying it was restated with full emphasis in the solemn manifesto issued for the 60th Anniversary Celebration of the International, 28th September, 1924, in the passage which runs:—

But this period of confusion will pass, just as Bakunism was overcome in the 'seventies. The sooner Russia is freed from her isolation the sooner will this result be obtained. The Treaty which Great Britain is about to sign with Russia may be an important step in this direction.

The hope that this relief to Russia's international situation would also bring with it a relaxation of the internal political stringency and an alleviation of the lot of the *Socialist prisoners in the Bolshevik dungeons*—a hope entertained especially in British Labour circles—unfortunately proved an illusion. On the contrary, the pressure exerted in Russia against the Socialist Opposition became even more severe, and the state

* Up to the present the following States, given in chronological order, have recognised the Soviet Government:—Germany (April, 1922), Great Britain (February, 1924), Italy, Norway, Austria, Greece, Danzig, Sweden, China, Denmark, Mexico, Hungary, France (all in the course of 1924), Japan (1925).

of the prisoners became worse. The fate of these prisoners has been an unrelenting concern of the International since its foundation. Again and again its attention has been turned to the cries for help which sounded from the Russian prisons, and which, even at the price of a great expenditure of seemingly vain efforts, it could disregard the less easily since the moral and at times physical sufferings which extorted these cries for help were inflicted in the name of Communism.

The Hamburg Congress in its resolution on Russia had stated:—

The Congress expresses to the Socialist victims of the Bolshevik terror in Russia and Georgia its warmest sympathy and declares it to be the duty of all affiliated and Labour Socialist Parties to give every moral and material support to all those Russian Socialists who work in the spirit of this resolution.

In December, 1923, the Administrative Committee commissioned Comrade Shaw to bring to the notice of the Representative of the Russian Government in London, Rakovsky, the existing evidence relating to the treatment of the political prisoners. The interview took place at a moment when the Russian Government, in view of the impending accession to Office of the British Labour Party, had an interest in assuming in Great Britain an appearance of conciliation: and beyond doubt it contributed to the result that immediately afterwards the death sentences passed on the members of the Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionaries, one of whom, Morossov, had committed suicide in the meanwhile, were commuted to terms of imprisonment.

In its sitting at Luxemburg the Executive again raised a demand for a full amnesty for all political prisoners. Moreover it called upon all the affiliated Parties to set up committees for the defence of Socialist prisoners in Russia, and commissioned Comrades Abramovitch, Suchomlin and Tseretelli to publish a pamphlet on conditions in Russia. (See page 36). At its sitting in London in September, 1924, the Executive conveyed its sympathy to the Russian comrades, and expressed anxiety as to their fate by especially remembering them in the Manifesto of the 60th Anniversary of the International. In addition it sent in a special resolution its greetings to the prisoners on the Solovetzki Islands, of whose hunger-strike the first news had arrived at that time.

In November, 1924, during the German election campaign, the Communist *Red Aid* suddenly published an "Open Letter," in which it invited an exchange of the political prisoners in Soviet Russia for the Communist prisoners in capitalist states. On this the Secretariat of the L.S.I. submitted to the Executive the following report, which was published by an Executive decision at the Brussels session in January, 1925:—

The *International Red Aid* has published, as a means of propaganda during the election campaign in Germany, an open letter asking for an answer from the L.S.I. The character of this publication is in itself sufficient to make such an answer completely superfluous. In those countries where parties affiliated to the L.S.I. hold office, as is the case in Sweden and Denmark, there are no Communists in prison. On the other hand, capitalist Governments would only consent to an exchange of prisoners—as Horthy-Hungary did at the time—provided that, on the other side, there are prisoners whom they think worth exchanging. It may thus be seen that from a mere practical point of view the idea of such an exchange offers no possible object for Socialist intervention. But even apart from that, the whole argument of the *Red Aid* is based on a lie. At the Conference of the three International Executives in Berlin, in April, 1922, it was the delegates of the Communist International who refused to allow the following sentence to be inserted in the joint declaration:—

"The Conference declares that it is the duty of proletarian Parties to work energetically for the immediate release of all political prisoners in their own countries, particularly those who were tried or condemned during a time of open civil war."

The delegation of the Communist International declared that they could not accept this clause. In order to avoid breaking off the Conference, the representatives of the two Socialist Executives were forced to consent to the

passage being left out. Their declaration to that effect was officially included in the minutes (see Report of the Conference of the Second and Third International and the Vienna Union, page 94). If the *Red Aid* really intends to press this matter further, it had better first apply to the Communist International for a revision of their attitude so as to allow activities for the liberation of political prisoners to be conducted in Russia as elsewhere.

In June, 1925, the Soviet Government eventually resolved to close down the prison on the Solovetzki Islands.

The attention of the international working class became anew directed to the fate of the political prisoners and to the general internal condition of Russia, when in November and December, 1924, the British Trade Union Delegation undertook their most contentious journey to Russia, and there, as well as after their return, in various speeches, statements, and their printed report, expressed views, which were to some extent at variance with the notions otherwise held within the L.S.I. The anxieties which these utterances produced in the circles of the L.S.I. were expressed in the common sitting of the Bureau of the L.S.I. and of the I.F.T.U. in Brussels, in January, 1924, in the declaration made by Comrade Vandervelde, in the name of the Bureau of the L.S.I., which had unanimously commissioned him to do so.

The L.S.I. had also to register with regret and concern that Russia, far from using the improvement in its external position towards a relaxation of its internal régime (for which, however, the threat from outside had hitherto given a pretext) was on the contrary using it for the purpose of adopting on its side a more aggressive external policy. At the sitting of the Executive in Brussels, the representatives of the Russian Border States had to record that the position of Russia in relation to its environment has turned completely round. Whereas previously the question was to win recognition for Russia and guard it from an intervention by capitalist forces, to-day there is no less a concern to guard Russia's neighbours from the *Russian imperialist policy of interference*. The policy which the L.S.I. and the Socialist Parties have pursued towards Russia since Hamburg, must be supplemented to-day by an earnest warning that any attempt by the Russian Government to extend the frontiers of Russia westwards under the cloak of revolutionary action threatens to bring about the most serious dangers.

These dangers became clearly visible to the whole world by the attempted coup d'état in *Estonia*, on December 21st, 1924, which—together with the regrettable measures of violence which followed—occupied the Executive minutely at its sitting in Brussels, in January, 1925. There is no doubt that the fate of the Georgian people was to be in store for the Estonians.

This fate of having been the first victim of Soviet Imperialism, gives to the sufferings of *Georgia* their historical significance, and assigns her that place in the thoughts and sentiments of the international working class which the Executive of the L.S.I. referred to in the historical Manifesto for the 60th Anniversary Celebration of the International, as follows :

Sixty years ago the symbol of a people's right of self-determination was the demand for Polish independence. To-day Poland's independence is a fact. We follow the example of the First International by demanding the right of self-determination for *Georgia*, as the symbol of all countries subject to imperialist domination.

The Hamburg Congress had resolved with reference to *Georgia* :—

The Congress approves the resolutions of the Second International and the Vienna Union on the question of *Georgia*, and demands the evacuation of *Georgia* by the Soviet troops and the reestablishment of the sovereignty of the Georgian people.

The attitude of the Socialist Parties towards *Georgia* became all the more significant because in connection with the *de jure* recognition of the Russian Government, demanded and brought about through the Socialists, there was also inter-linked with the political and moral questions a juridical problem. Accordingly, as early as its meeting in Luxembourg, by a special resolution the Executive of the L.S.I. called the attention of the affiliated Parties to this point ;

That, in conformity with the decisions of the Hamburg Congress, Socialist Parties, whilst demanding from the Governments of their respective countries the recognition of the Soviet Government, should see to it that this act does not prevent negotiations with a view to the withdrawal of the military occupation of *Georgia*.

At the end of August, 1924, in the oppressed country of *Georgia* an insurrection broke out. The news which appeared in the Press was highly contradictory ; and even considerably later while in the French Press between the Communists and our French and Georgian comrades, a violent controversy was being carried on as to the origins of the insurrection, the British Party Press still published accounts which pictured the insurrection as a mere episode of no significance. Only when the Georgian Communist papers themselves issued the full list of those who had been executed *en masse* and news of the shooting of innocent hostages, which were accompanied by the cynical taunt from the Communist leader, Kakhiani, that the Mensheviks "have organised a democratic rebellion on democratic lines, and have not managed to execute a single one of our comrades, although we shot hundreds"—only then were the occurrences grasped in the full scope of their horror, and the Secretariat of the L.S.I. has done its utmost to spread through the whole world an acquaintance with the actual facts.

The first news of the insurrection was known in London just at the moment (9th September) when the Administrative Committee of the L.S.I. was meeting. After a conscientious examination of the evidence, the Committee resolved to submit it for consideration to the immediately impending Executive Meeting, in London, in September, 1924. Following a thorough discussion the Executive defined its attitude with very special emphasis. In addition to the two references to *Georgia* in the International's Manifesto for the 60th Anniversary of its foundation, the Executive drew up a special resolution (see page 30), in which the murder of hostages in particular was denounced. The resolution points to the breach of solemnly concluded treaties, committed by Russia in her attack upon peaceful *Georgia*, interprets the desperate outbreak of the Georgian people as resulting from the denial of every channel for legitimate political activity, enters a protest against the sanguinary reprisals and exhorts all the affiliated Parties to stand by the Georgian people in its demand for the withdrawal of the Russian troops and a free referendum. These are indeed the very claims which the International will not cease to urge on behalf of every oppressed nation.

We subjoin the text of the resolutions :—

Resolutions of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Luxemburg (February, 1924).

RUSSIA.

The Executive of the L.S.I. declares with satisfaction that, following the *de jure* recognition of Soviet Russia by the Governments of England and of Italy, the complete recognition of Soviet Russia by all the other Powers, and the resumption of normal relations between Russia and Europe, will soon be a *fait accompli*. In their view, this is the best means for putting an end to any policy of boycott and blockade, and for the promotion of democracy in Russia.

The Executive, in complete agreement with the resolutions of the Hamburg Congress, supports the efforts made by the Socialist and Labour Parties in different countries with a view to the recognition of Soviet Russia. It requests

the affiliated Parties to increase their efforts in those countries where the capitalist classes are resisting the *de jure* recognition of Russia. Special care is necessary lest capitalist Governments impose conditions on the Russian people which would resemble a state of economic slavery. For these reasons the Executive considers it the bounden duty of Socialist and Labour Parties in all countries to support the Russian Socialists in their struggle against the régime of political oppression in Russia.

The Executive greets those comrades in prisons and places of banishment in Russia, who, in spite of grave persecutions, still hold fast to their Socialist convictions. The Executive recommends the Parties affiliated to the L.S.I. to agitate in favour of *complete amnesty* for all political prisoners in Russia and the cessation of persecution of all non-Communist Labour and Peasant organisations.

GEORGIA.

In view of the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government being under the consideration of every European Government, the Executive Committee reminds the affiliated parties that, in conformity with the decisions of the Hamburg Congress, Socialist Parties, whilst demanding from the Governments of their respective countries the recognition of the Soviet Government, should see to it that this act does not prevent negotiations with a view to the withdrawal of the military occupation of Georgia.

The Executive Committee invites the affiliated Parties to spread propaganda in favour of the evacuation of Georgia by the Soviet troops now in occupation, in conformity with the resolutions passed at Hamburg.

DEFENCE FOR SOCIALIST PRISONERS.

The Executive Committee of the L.S.I. recommends the affiliated Parties to appoint "*Committees for the defence of Socialist prisoners in Russia*," for the purpose of raising funds on behalf of these prisoners and to provide for adequate propaganda.

INFORMATION ABOUT RUSSIA.

That Comrades Abramovitch (Russia, S.D.P.), Suchomlin (Russia, S.R.) and Tseretelli (Georgia) be entrusted with a publication of a pamphlet containing the latest evidence on conditions in Russia.

Extract from the Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Vienna (June, 1924).

The Executive had a report from the Russian and Georgian delegates on the situation in Soviet Russia. It confirmed the Luxemburg resolutions on the Russian question and the military occupation of Georgia. It stated that, in spite of the International fight against any capitalist or counter-revolutionary policy of intervention of capitalist Governments against Soviet Russia, it is the duty of all Socialists and Labour Parties to support the Socialist Parties in Russia and Georgia, and to bring before public opinion in their Press and literature full knowledge of the ever-increasing terrorism which reigns against peasants and workers.

Resolutions of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at London (September, 1924).

THE PRISONERS ON THE SOLOVETZKI ISLANDS.

The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International sends fraternal greetings and assurances of warmest sympathy to the heroic Socialist martyrs now on hunger-strike in the prisons of the Solovetzki Islands, in order to compel a Government, which calls itself Socialist, to observe the elementary dictates of humanity in the treatment of its prisoners.

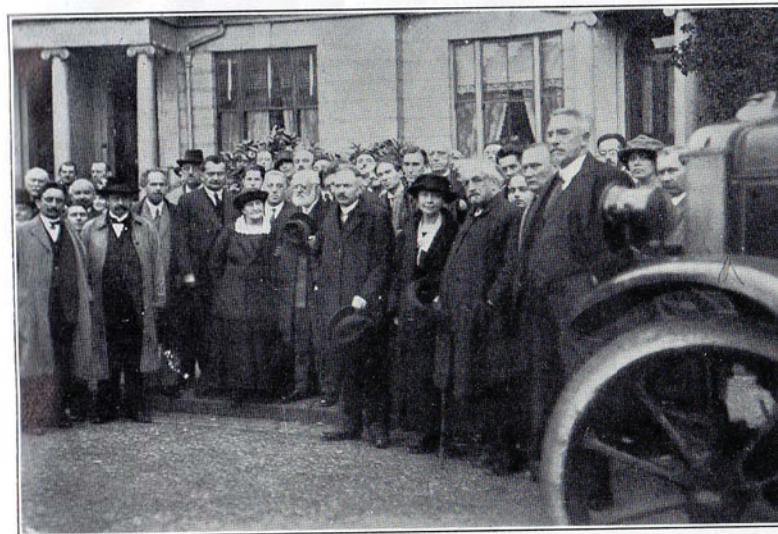
The Executive resolves that the affiliated parties initiate immediate energetic action amongst the working class so as to save the lives of those brave fighters for freedom, and to obtain a general amnesty for political prisoners in Russia.

THE RISING IN GEORGIA.

The Executive Committee heard with feelings of horror of the violent suppression of the outburst of despair of the Georgian people by the Russian Government, which, in February, 1921, breaking a Treaty solemnly concluded, attacked and conquered little Georgia in the midst of peace.

Disregarding the claims of our Georgian comrades and of the whole Socialist International, the Bolshevik rulers have always declined to grant the right of self-determination to the Georgian people. By a despotic régime of Party

Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the International, in London, 28th September, 1924.



The Executive of the L.S.I. assembled before the house where Karl Marx lived and died.



The speakers at the Memorial Meeting before Karl Marx's house :
E. Belfort-Bax (England), Karl Kautsky (Germany), Bracke (France).

dictatorship, which prohibits any political activity by other parties, they have rendered impossible any peaceful development of the Georgian people and a settlement of the Georgian question. By those methods they have driven the Georgian workers, peasants and intellectuals to despair.

The murder of dozens of Socialist hostages who could have had nothing whatsoever to do with the upheaval, seeing that they had been in prison months, some even years before, is only equalled by the hideous brutality of capitalist imperialism during the war.

The Executive makes its protest before the workers of the world against the repression which is still going on. The Russian Socialist parties have fulfilled their international and proletarian duty by declaring, immediately after the announcement of the suppression of the Georgian insurrection, that the section of the Russian working class belonging to our International had no responsibility for the violent deeds of the present Russian Government, and that they, with the whole Labour and Socialist International, recognise the full right of Georgia to self-determination.

To defend the rights of self-determination is an obligation of honour for the whole International, as was the defence of the Polish people for the First International.

The Executive calls upon all affiliated parties to appeal with all their energy to the workers of all countries to support the demands of the Georgian people, for—

Withdrawal of the Russian armies from Georgia ;
For a free referendum of the Georgian population.

Declaration of the L.S.I. at the joint Meeting of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. at Brussels (January, 1925).

THE BRITISH TRADE UNION DELEGATION IN RUSSIA.

The Bureaus of the I.F.T.U. and the L.S.I. have some very important questions on their agenda: The Geneva Protocol, Night Work in Bakeries, the Eight-Hour Day. We shall discuss these matters in the same spirit of mutual understanding which has marked our former meetings.

But as we meet together for the first time since the return of the British Trade Union Delegation from Russia, it is impossible for us not to say in a friendly way, but firmly, how gravely we feel about the attitude adopted by this delegation or by certain members thereof, of which one is your President, towards the Soviet Government and the Communist International. It is true that the report of the delegation has not yet been published, but the delegation has made public its conclusions through declarations by Comrades Purcell and Bramley, for instance, which have been extensively published by the Communist Press.

It is unnecessary to state that we do not propose, at this moment, to discuss the opinions expressed by the delegates concerning the economic situation in Russia. If they think that the situation is improving year by year, they are within their rights, and, in fact, it is their duty to say so. But it is also the right and the duty of us others who are of a different opinion to put before them proofs to the contrary, particularly reports and documents that have come from the Soviet Government itself.

But certain declarations have been made by the delegation, its president, or its secretary, of a character clearly political and for that reason not exclusively within the scope of the Trade Union International. These declarations may even have a grave repercussion on the political situation. We shall confine ourselves to citing two examples. The delegation said that in Soviet Russia "religious institutions have complete freedom to exercise their religious beliefs." When, departing from the sphere of Trade Unionism, the English comrades seem to think it their duty to put religious freedom to the credit of Bolshevism, how is it that they have not a word to say about how, under the Bolshevik régime, the elementary liberties of Press, meetings, &c., are systematically refused to all those not belonging to the ruling party?

The declaration goes on to quote and comment on the statements made by the British delegation on the Georgian question, and continues :—

Our Bureau considered it to be its duty, before proceeding with the business on the agenda, to mention its preoccupations and apprehensions. Experience has taught us what we may expect from the united front tactics as interpreted and practised by the Bolsheviks.

These tactics which we know from bitter experience are now applied by the Communists in the Trade Union sphere. Having failed to oppose their Red T.U.

International to the Amsterdam International, they now endeavour, under pretext of the "united front," to penetrate the I.F.T.U. and to introduce the method of cell-building and the germs of division.

There are too many bonds, too much sympathy between us to allow us to view with indifference such methods. What menaces the Trade Unions also menaces Socialism. We have common interests to defend, and these will be all the better defended if we oppose to the Communist propaganda of division a united front of Trade Unions and Labour Parties.

(b) THE BALKANS.

The second danger point in the Near East, which for this reason has a special claim to the attention of the workers in all countries, is the Balkan Peninsula. The Hamburg Congress had declared in this matter:

The Conference calls the attention of the working class to the fact that it is not only in the West, but also in the East that the right of self-determination is trodden underfoot.

In the territories occupied by the people detached from Russia and Germany from the Baltic to the Black Sea, in the Balkans, and in Central Europe, the frontiers of many of the new states have not been fixed according to the principle of self-determination, but imposed by violence. The Congress regards it as the duty of the Labour and Socialist parties, to work for the application of this principle to all peoples. The Executive is hereby instructed to prepare, by means of separate conferences between the Socialist parties concerned, a uniform working-class policy for the peaceful settlement of these questions.

Full effect has been given to this instruction.

The calling of such a conference appeared the more desirable because immediately after the Hamburg Congress in June, 1923, there occurred the *coup d'état* in Bulgaria, which overthrew the Peasants' Government of Stamboliisky. Stamboliisky was murdered. An attempted counter-insurrection by united Agrarians and Communists, in September, 1923, was crushed with sanguinary brutality. The need for clarification of the relations between the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Tsankoff Government, of which it had at first formed part, but from which it withdrew in February, 1924, induced the Bureau of the L.S.I., which at its Brussels Meeting in October, 1923, considered the matter, first to address an inquiry to the Bulgarian Party. In Luxemburg (February, 1924) the Executive of the L.S.I. then resolved to summon a conference of the Socialist Parties of the Balkans, which met in Bucharest on the 11th March, 1924 (see page 87). The conference proved itself to be a remarkably helpful and successful channel for mutual enlightenment and understanding.

At the Conference, which was attended by Comrades Adler and Tseretelli as representatives of the International, the delegates of the Bulgarian Party affirmed the already initiated reversal of their policy in a declaration which the Party has striven honestly, though without much success, to put into practice. (See page 40). In its endeavours it is severely handicapped by the unfavourable economic state of affairs in Bulgaria, which is being intensified to the point of becoming intolerable by the incoming flow of refugees. Notwithstanding, the Executive of the L.S.I. at its meeting in Vienna (June, 1924) was able to assert:—

On leaving the Tsankoff Government the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria entered into the strongest opposition to that system of Government, and is now fighting for the complete democratisation of the country, for the abolition of the "exceptional measures," and for amnesty for political offenders. The L.S.I. is convinced that the Party will uphold this policy, and therefore it considers the point of discussion concerning the participation of the Bulgarian Party in the Bulgarian Government as settled.

Meanwhile, within the unhappy country, the internal chaos proceeded. The raging feud between the conflicting Macedonian groups, the terrorist methods of the Government, the brutal tyranny of the police, who saw

to it that the opponents of the Government should mysteriously "disappear" by dozens, and that the imprisoned should commit "suicide" in masses; on the other hand the plots of the Communists and Agrarians have made murder in the public streets a daily weapon in the political struggle, and in the recent civil war of April, 1925, in the course of which occurred the bomb outrage in the cathedral of Sofia, they have finally involved both sides in an inextricable responsibility for bloodshed. Against this terrible spring mechanism of force, which once it has been set going continues working automatically, the endeavours of the Socialist Party failed to exercise any decisive influence upon events and the sufferings of the country; the Party in vain protested in repeated manifestoes against the terrorism enacted by both sides; in vain it voted in the Chamber against the imposition of martial law. Such was the situation with which the Executive of the L.S.I. was faced, when it met in Paris in May, 1925, to reinvestigate the position in the Balkans. In its resolution (see page 43) it raised its voice against the violence employed by both sides, and declared its agreement with the line of action of the Bulgarian Party, and resolved to call another conference of the Socialist Parties of the Balkans, and to this end, and in particular, for a closer study of the events in Bulgaria, to despatch a delegation.

The Second Socialist Balkan Conference met in Prague on the 12th June, 1925 (see page 87). The International was represented by Comrades de Brouckère, Shaw and Adler. The Report submitted by the International Commission on the conclusions of the Conference records that the Socialist Party of Bulgaria is striving to realise the programme formulated in its statement at the First Balkan Conference, and in particular, to bring about general elections. Furthermore, the Party have drawn up a series of other demands which meet the needs of the moment and form the basis of their parliamentary action. In these endeavours it should have the help of all Socialist parties who can not only exert through their Press an influence on the Bulgarian Government, but must also emphasise the responsibility of Europe for the conditions in Bulgaria; only thus is it possible to help the country in the solution of its most burning problems, which are at the same time the root causes of the eternally recurrent disturbances, namely, the refugee problem, and the question of the burden of Reparations.

All these problems are inter-dependent, and in particular, the refugee question can only be solved by the united will of all the Balkan States. Accordingly, the real task of the Conferences called together by the L.S.I. was to set forth the *Balkan problem in its entirety*. Along these lines the First Socialist Balkan Conference achieved a most valuable piece of work by dealing in a thorough discussion, held during a situation of the utmost tension, with the causes of the danger of war in the Balkans. (See page 41). In view of the tense and ever-changing conflicts it has attempted to impress on the consciousness of the workers in all countries the special problems of the Near East, which are totally different from the questions of Western Europe to-day. At the meeting of the Executive in Vienna (June, 1924) the delegates of the Balkan countries explained that theirs is not merely a different stage of civilisation, but above all a different stage of revolutionary development. The peoples of the Near East are now only just passing through the bourgeois revolution with all its accompanying phenomena, such as redistribution of land, evolution of private property among the peasants and the growth of a unified national consciousness among races hitherto separate and in some degree torn by religious differences. The most obvious instance of this evolution, which runs its course through strenuous internal disruptions with frequent alarming external reactions, is offered by Yugo-Slavia.

It is this evolution which marks the state of affairs in the Balkans to-day. Throughout its course the unremitting tension is bound again and again to resolve itself into an acute crisis. Thus the Second Socialist Balkan Conference was justified in affirming that "every reactionary or imperialist step forward in one of the Balkan States imperils the growth of democracy in all the other Balkan countries," and urged upon the Commission, set up by the Executive of the L.S.I. at its meeting in Paris for dealing with the question of national minorities, to examine as soon as possible the problems of minorities in the Balkans on account of their special urgency.

In the months of August and September, 1924, Comrade Vandervelde undertook a tour of inquiry through the Balkan countries to acquaint himself with the conditions on the spot. To the meeting of the Executive in London, September, 1924, he then submitted a detailed report, which, in particular, dealt with the refugee problem in its whole significance. His personal observation and experiences continued to be of the greatest value to the Executive in its further consideration of the Balkan questions. His tour also helped to give a fresh impulse to the Socialist movement in the Balkans, and to strengthen the prestige of the International in those districts where it should act as the natural leader in all the disorders amidst which nations grow and the working class is awakening.

The documents and resolutions relative to these questions run as follows:—

Declaration by the Bulgarian Party at the First Balkan Conference of Socialist Parties in Bucharest (March, 1924).

BULGARIA.

Bulgaria is essentially an agricultural country. In accordance with democratic axioms, therefore, the peasants should have a corresponding influence in the formation of Bulgaria's policy. But, under pretext of establishing a Peasant Government, Stambuliisky had created a dictatorship of a minority of the peasant class, thus forcing all democratic elements (not only town elements), irrespective of party—Social-Democrats, Communists, Bourgeois—into an ever-increasing opposition. Opposition between town and country had reached the most intolerable limits, Stambuliisky's Party endeavouring to bring the municipal administration under its dictatorship. Eventually, the Government, in spite of an ever-increasing tide of opposition, completely abandoned democracy, substituting for Proportional Representation a franchise totally based on chance and Government influence. By making voting compulsory, indifferent elements were induced to political activity, and the mass of indifferent voters gained great political influence.

The use of violence against townspeople and the abandonment of democracy by Stambuliisky were the causes of Tsankoff's *coup d'état*—regarded by large masses of the population as a deliverance from oppression.

The Social Democratic Party, as such, did not take part in the *coup d'état*; indeed, many influential members of the Party Executive were completely ignorant of the conspirators' plans. Separate members of the Party, it is true, were initiated as individuals. After the upheaval, the Party administration was not in a position to hold them responsible for acts undertaken under risk to their lives. On the contrary, the Party itself was obliged, at this moment, to take on responsibility in the new Government, in order to check the extension of the civil war and counteract the dangers of occupation by foreign Powers. The participation of the Social Democrats resulted in the expulsion of the reactionary National Liberals from the Government.

As a matter of fact, the Tsankoff Government was far from being Socialist—there was only one Social Democrat amongst the ten Cabinet Ministers—but, at the same time, it was the only Government that might be expected to return to democracy.

This does not mean that we can defend all actions of that Government. Much was done against our will, against our advice and against our vote. In the first place, we must disclaim any responsibility for the cruelties resulting from civil war, even though foreign newspapers published extraordinary exaggerations and incredible rumours. Such acts of cruelty took place against our will, and even without our knowledge. Truth compels us to state that to

the best of our knowledge, whatever deplorable atrocities were committed were not the direct responsibility of the Government, *i.e.*, were not committed by Government orders, but, on the contrary, without the knowledge of the Government. When the Government started to suppress the September "Putsch," we worked for the abolition of arrests and victimising. When such deplorable occurrences did take place, we always demanded a thorough investigation. We would draw attention to articles in our Press which were quoted by our Communist and Agrarian opponents. Moreover, we would remind you of our motion in Parliament regarding an enquiry. But still more important than protests and demands for an enquiry was the success of our constant interventions, resulting in the saving of many lives, and in limiting the number of victims. Though Communists and Agrarians state the contrary in their Press, for political reasons, we know from direct experience that they appreciated our activities.

It was quite clear to us from the beginning that our participation in the Government would only last until such time as the menace of anarchy had been overcome. We took the first opportunity afforded by an improved situation to leave the Government.

Our resignation therefrom now enables us to continue the struggle for democracy in Bulgaria in a form more obvious to our comrades abroad, *i.e.*, the form of energetic opposition. In this struggle we stand for the following demands, the fulfilment of which seems to us to be an indispensable necessity:—

- (1) Restoration of a completely democratic Proportional Representation and the speediest carrying through of a General Election on the basis of this new franchise.
- (2) An immediate Municipal Election.
- (3) Complete amnesty for all those who participated in the civil war, and possibility of immediate return for all refugees.
- (4) Complete liberty of Press and meetings for all political parties and guarantees of political activity on the basis of democracy. Revision of the law for State protection in this sense.

Our demands for the restoration of Proportional Representation appear to us to be of imminent practical necessity in order to replace the "Putsch" system and violent upheavals by a system of democratic evolution. The Bulgarian people shall elect its Parliament in complete freedom. Whatever tendency shall predominate at these elections, we want the real majority to come into power according to democratic principle. If the Government will follow these lines all pretexts amongst enemy elements for "Putschs" will disappear, and democracy will be safer in Bulgaria, under such conditions, than it would be under any "exceptional laws."

The representatives of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, at the Conference in Bucharest on March 11th—13th, 1924, called by the Executive of the L.S.I., declare that the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party is willing to work on the lines of the above declaration, and that they will do their best to render its activities as efficient as possible. They trust that fellow-parties in the L.S.I. will believe that Bulgarian Socialists will work for the restoration of democracy in Bulgaria and the representation of working-class interests in this agrarian country.

Janco SAKASOFF, Assen TSANKOFF, Dimitr NEIKOFF.

Report submitted to the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. on the First Balkan Conference of Socialist Parties held at Bucharest (March, 1924).

THE DANGER OF WAR IN THE BALKANS.

The menacing development of conditions in the Balkans again proves that the imperialist war victors failed to achieve a true settlement of grave European national problems by their so-called "Peace Treaties." The treaty recently concluded between Italy and Yugo-Slavia brought the problems of the Mediterranean to a certain solution, but at the same time it deepened the differences where the Aegean Sea was concerned, and rendered the dangers imminent. Yugo-Slavia gave concessions in the question of the Adriatic. Her imperialists will lose no opportunity to compensate themselves in the area of Salonika. Rumours of Macedonian "Komitatchi" invasions of Yugo-Slavia from Bulgaria will act as a welcome pretext to stir up strife.

The delegates of the Executive of the L.S.I. note with satisfaction that the representatives of the Parties of Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania are in unanimity to counteract the danger of war with all their forces, and, through discussion, they have achieved an extensive agreement on general lines for the fulfilment of this task. In the victorious countries, *i.e.*, Yugo-Slavia and

Roumania, Socialists will not only denounce all utterances of Chauvinism and official imperialism which aim at fostering hostile feelings and at creating a warlike atmosphere; they will also strenuously and directly cope with imperialism, striving towards a peaceful understanding in all controversial questions. In Bulgaria the Socialists' task will be the promotion, as far as possible, of those actions in the victorious countries, and therefore they will endeavour, above all, that nothing happens in Bulgaria which would afford imperialists of the neighbouring countries a pretext for intervention.

The common anxiety of all parties present is directed towards the *Macedonian problem*. First of all the Yugo-Slavian Socialists will demand amnesty for all Macedonian refugees and the possibility of their return to their native hearths. On account of the material needs of these refugees, Socialists will claim the restoration of their economic existence through State subsidies. The delegates of the Roumanian and Yugo-Slavian Parties consider it superfluous to state that they will stand for full equality of political rights, and for guarantee of free development of national culture for every national minority, as laid down in the Resolutions of the Hamburg International Congress.

The representatives of the three Socialist Parties are convinced that, should they succeed in getting their Governments to recognise these principles, and in adopting a similar policy, the war which is once more imminent can be averted. They are, however, quite aware that the dangers emerging from the Balkan troubles are utilised and increased by Imperialist Powers abroad. They therefore appeal to Socialist Parties outside the Balkans, requesting them to watch closely at this critical moment lest the policy of their respective countries should add to the dangers in the Balkans. The critical Balkan situation makes it necessary that another meeting of Balkan Socialist Parties should take place within a short time. The successful results arising from mutual information and the attainment of common principles, as revealed at the Bucharest Conference, for dealing with all those difficult questions, enables us to hope that Socialist Parties will succeed, through practical work, in solving separate problems, thus gradually reaching a complete and peaceful solution of the entire Balkan problem.

Extract from the Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. in Vienna (June, 1924).

The Executive finally examined the conditions in the *Balkans* and passed the following resolution:—On leaving the Tsankoff Government the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria entered into the strongest opposition to that system of government, and is now fighting for the complete democratisation of the country, for the abolition of the "exceptional measures," and for amnesty for political offenders. The L.S.I. is convinced that the Party will uphold this policy, and therefore it considers the point of discussion concerning the participation of the Bulgarian Party in the Bulgarian Government as settled.

The L.S.I. urges all affiliated Parties in the Balkan countries and Eastern Europe to discuss, in further conferences, the political questions which are common to their countries on the basis of the decisions of the International Congress in Hamburg, and the principles laid down at the Conference of Socialist Parties at Bucharest, in order to prepare the decisions of the International in these questions, which might become of the greatest importance for the peace of the world.

Report by Vandervelde submitted to the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. in London (September, 1924).

THE SITUATION IN THE BALKANS.

War and the Peace Treaties based on force which were the outcome, have created movements in these countries involving serious dangers to International peace.

In Greece 1,200,000 refugees from Asia Minor, mostly deprived of all resources, are put on a population of 5,000,000 people.

In Bulgaria refugees and exiles from the Dobrudja and Strumitza, from Macedonia and Thrace, number 400,000. Many of these came only recently to Bulgaria so as to escape persecution and on account of refusal of the rights of minority, threats and deeds of violence. They are in a state of terrible misery. Whole families overcrowd schoolrooms, where they live in deplorable promiscuity; others are in provisional shelters, deprived of almost all means of normal life.

This stream of refugees and exiles to countries which have already been pauperised by the war has not only disastrous consequences for the direct victims. Through the competition of thousands of unemployed, the wages of

the whole working class have become lower. This is a favourable ground for the propaganda of violence and for nationalist and militarist parties to threaten exterior peace and maintain a régime of force and dictatorship of minority against democracy.

Already in 1924 the Conference of the Socialist Parties of Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania, which met in Bucharest, considered all these problems. This Conference claimed general amnesty, full recognition of the rights of national minorities and, on the other hand, invited interested Socialist Parties not to neglect any effort to render impossible frontier incidents which threaten peace in the Balkans.

The International ratified these decisions at Vienna and endorsed the resolution moved in this sense.

Moreover the International invites all affiliated parties, especially those of France and Britain, to strive that, through the intermediary of the League of Nations, the rights of minorities be efficiently guaranteed, and the sums already advanced by the League to support the refugees be increased in proportion to the terrible misery which they suffer and to the crushing charges which they impose on peoples who have to succour them.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. in Paris (May, 1925).

EVENTS IN BULGARIA.

The Labour and Socialist International views with anxiety the events taking place in the Balkans.

It regards the terrible outrage at Sofia as the culminating point of a long series of political troubles out of which the Bulgarian people has not succeeded in fostering its stability and thereby establishing democracy and peace.

The Labour and Socialist International condemns methods of violence which are harmful to humanity and result in the increase of sanguinary repressions. But, at the same time, the L.S.I. vigorously condemns methods by which a government, heedless of the opinion of the majority of its citizens, maintains itself by violence instead of allowing the country to develop freely on democratic lines.

The Labour and Socialist International also condemns all interference from outside which tends to increase internal troubles and repression and to maintain in the Balkans a state of unsettlement dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of all Europe.

The Labour and Socialist International approves of the Bulgarian Social Democrats having, in their struggle against these dangers, courageously denounced martial law and refused to be associated with it, whilst, at the same time, denouncing the horrible outrages.

It invites the Party to persist in its attitude and to call upon all the democratic forces of Bulgaria to triumph over the designs of reaction and of violence.

In order to make its position clear the Executive Committee decides that a commission appointed by it shall proceed immediately to Prague, where a conference of the Socialist Parties of the Balkans is to be convened.

The Committee will study also the methods by which the International may watch events on the spot and direct its efforts for democracy and peace.

The Committee will report the results of its investigations to the next International Congress.

Report of the International Commission on the Second Balkan Conference of Socialist Parties held at Prague (June, 1925).

The Commission is not in a position to deal in detail with the accusations made against the extremist parties and the Tsankoff Government. There is, however, no doubt at all that Bulgaria is now the victim of a twofold plague. On one side there are the acts of the violent Communist and Agrarian elements, which are responsible for repeated murder and robbery; on the other side there is the fact that the Government of Tsankoff has established a white terror. In the present condition of affairs, in which different witnesses are very contradictory, it does not seem to be possible to fix individual responsibilities with certainty. We must content ourselves by stating the growth of the evil, and the energetic will of the Bulgarian Socialists to continue the combat against both the criminal parties of violence between which they are placed.

At the first Balkan Conference, in March, 1924, the Socialist Party of Bulgaria had declared its intention to conduct a decided opposition against the present Government, and had drawn up a programme, to the following sections of which we draw attention:—

- (1) Restoration of a completely democratic Proportional Representation and the speediest carrying through of a General Election on the basis of this new franchise.
- (2) An immediate Municipal Election.
- (3) Complete amnesty for all those who participated in the civil war, and possibility of immediate return for all refugees.
- (4) Complete liberty of Press and meetings for all political parties and guarantees of political activity on the basis of democracy. Revision of the law for State protection in this sense.

The Bulgarian delegation gave to the Conference a report of the action they had taken in the spirit of the above declaration. The Bulgarian Socialist Party has always acted in this spirit, and has continued their opposition in Parliament. That opposition was clearly shown when they refused to vote for the Budget, and when they alone had the courage to vote against the establishment of martial law during the dangerous state of mind caused by the bomb outrage in the Cathedral. Owing to their action three amnesty measures were promulgated, and they are still working for a broader amnesty which will extend to other cases.

The efforts of the Bulgarian Socialists have brought distinct results since the first Balkan Conference. The party has become stronger, and the Local Elections, which took place as a result of its demand, have brought it important successes.

But there remains much to be done to realise fully the programme of March, 1924. The Bulgarian Socialists are working to complete their difficult task. They are still decided to press for the quickest possible consultation of the people in new elections.

At the same time it is necessary to prepare conditions which will guarantee the freedom of the people, which is quite impossible in the present state of siege and terror. That is the direction in which the efforts of the Bulgarian Socialists are now concentrated.

A programme has been drawn up and submitted to the Government, but the latter, by means of the censorship, has prevented its publication in Bulgaria. That fact in itself sufficiently characterises the present Government.

The programme says:—

- (1) Immediate removal of the censorship.
- (2) Prompt termination of martial law.
- (3) Restoration of the right of meeting.
- (4) Release of all persons imprisoned without sufficient ground.
- (5) An unconditional veto, supported by the severest penalties, against the use of moral or physical torture of arrested persons.
- (6) Immediate cessation of executions without trial.
- (7) Investigation before a court of all cases of arbitrary action or personal revenge and the strictest punishment of the persons involved.

To realise this programme, however, a method must be found to restore normal conditions, the lack of which weighs so heavily on the people, and to put an end to dictatorship and violence. The Bulgarian Socialists believe that the power to realise this normal condition of affairs can only be found in the grouping of all the forces which are really democratic. They see in this combination the first and essential step to any future progress.

* * *

The Commission cannot confine itself to the efforts and intentions of the Bulgarian Party, it has also the duty of stating that, in the present dangerous and difficult struggle, Bulgarian Socialists have a right to count on the support of all the parties affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International.

Experience has taught that dictatorial and Fascist Governments are sensitive to the expression of public opinion. It is therefore necessary that all parties, in and out of Parliament, should make every effort to draw attention to the Bulgarian problem. It is not enough, however, merely to draw attention to misdeeds. It must not be forgotten that if the Bulgarian situation is so critical to-day, Europe must bear a considerable part of the responsibility.

Without making a thorough examination of the international political problem, it will suffice to call attention to the unavoidable responsibility of helping Bulgaria to solve the problems of refugees, reparations, and finance.

The Commission draws the attention of the Commission appointed by the Executive of the International to study the question of minorities to the pressing problem of minorities in the Balkans, and asks that this problem may be dealt with as quickly as possible. The Commission has asked the Bulgarian delegation to prepare a memorandum on all these points, which will be sent to all the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. With the help of this memorandum it will be possible to arrange a common action which will be the expression of international Socialist solidarity.

* * *

The second Balkan Conference has, in addition to the treatment of the Bulgarian problem, heard very complete statements from the Greek and Jugoslavian representatives.

The first Balkan Conference had already recognised that the problems dealt with were connected with each other, and especially that the problem of the refugees could only be solved by a general agreement between all the Balkan States. Every reactionary or imperialistic advance in one Balkan State is a danger to the democratic development of the other Balkan States.

In order to come to a decision on the whole of these problems the Balkan parties have been asked to prepare memoranda explaining their points of view and to pay special regard to the question of minorities, which will be dealt with by the special Commission appointed in Paris to consider the problems of minorities.

(c) ARMENIA.

In the resolutions of the Hamburg Congress the L.S.I. affirmed:—

The Congress protests against the bloody tyranny to which Armenia has been subjected by Turkey and by Russia, and claims for the Armenian nation the right of self-determination.

The fate of Armenia, a country which has to endure a twofold foreign domination, has received further attention and has been the subject of discussion at almost every meeting of the Executive. At its meeting in Luxemburg the Executive stated its demands in the following resolution:—

THE FATE OF ARMENIA.

I.

With reference to the decision of the Hamburg Conference concerning Armenia, the Executive of the L.S.I. requests that Governments granting recognition to Soviet Russia should safeguard the right of the Armenian people to independence.

II.

Considering:

That the Allied Powers, disregarding their former pledges, are exposing Armenia to the Kemalist Turks;

That nearly one million Armenian refugees, who escaped from the hecatombs in 1915, are still living in foreign countries in great distress, and are unable to return to their homes;

That discussions will shortly take place in the British, French and Italian Parliaments concerning the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne;

The Executive of the L.S.I., referring to the resolution of the Hamburg Congress, recommends the Parliamentary Parties of the Socialist Parties of these three countries to ask, during this debate on the Treaty of Lausanne, for the realisation of a national Armenian home in Turkish Armenia, such a proposal having been put forward by the League of Nations and by the Powers themselves.

4. THE FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL REACTION.

In its resolution on the "International Fight against International Reaction" at the Hamburg Congress the L.S.I. declared:

The Congress believes that through the enlightenment of public opinion throughout the world, the International has at its command a powerful weapon for the support of its comrades in countries where violent reaction prevails. The White Terror in Hungary, the Fascist dictatorship in Italy, and Turkish

persecution in Armenia, have not only destroyed democracy and persecuted the organised working class in these countries; they have also set an example which threatens to poison the political life of other countries. The Congress calls upon Labour and Socialist Parties to make the utmost use of the information with which the Executive will supply them, in order to bring the excesses of Fascism before the judgment of the civilised world.

The L.S.I. has consistently regarded as one of its first duties the fulfilment of this task imposed upon it by the Hamburg Congress, and has observed these instructions with special attention in connection with the countries quoted in the Hamburg Resolution as instances of the fury of counter-revolutionary Terror.

The political situation in *Italy* has been considered by the Executive at its meetings in Vienna, London, and Brussels.

At the Executive Meeting in Vienna (June, 1924), the delegate of the Italian Socialist Party, Comrade Morgari, urged the creation of a central information bureau, whereby the Socialist Parties and the foreign Press could be supplied with reliable news concerning the Fascist régime. As early as April, 1924, Comrade Matteotti, the Italian Party Secretary, had visited London to initiate negotiations on these and kindred questions. The Secretariat of the L.S.I. carried on these negotiations with the Parties in question, partly acting as an intermediary, partly direct. In the form suggested the plan could not be carried out; but a partial substitute for it was found in the opportune presence in London of Comrade Rondani, who, as representing the Italian Party, was constantly in contact with the International Secretariat.

On the 10th June, 1924, Giacomo Matteotti was kidnapped and murdered. By this brutal crime, whose instigators were the supreme dignitaries of Fascism, the latter has dealt itself a blow from which it will never recover. The assassination of Matteotti was the reply to his intrepid denunciation of the elections of April, 1924, which were carried out with every weapon of intimidation and of deceit; thanks to the Fascist electoral law they did indeed produce a Fascist majority in the Chamber, but nevertheless the Italian Socialist Party emerged from them as the strongest Opposition Party, and the Italian proletariat as the moral victor over the régime of Terror. Since Matteotti's voice was silenced in the Chamber, this assembly has sunk to a contemptible and despised residue; the Opposition boycott of Parliament, in reply to the protracted delays of justice against Matteotti's murderers, has proved a remarkably effective moral instrument in the struggle which the Italian people is waging for the recovery of its freedom.

After the death of Matteotti, the Secretariat of the L.S.I. issued the following Address to the Italian Party:—

DEAR COMRADES,

We kept up hope till the last moment, but now it is only too true that Matteotti is dead. Our pain is all the keener because only a little while ago he was here in London amongst us. We discussed with him the work of the proletarian campaign in Italy, and the better we knew him the more we felt that he was not only a brave worker, but a man, through and through, ready to offer any sacrifice for the cause to which he had consecrated his life.

In Matteotti lay one of the greatest hopes for the reconstruction of the Socialist Movement in Italy, for courageous and unbending resistance to the dreadful terrorism of Fascism to which you are a prey. We had been looking forward to seeing him again at the meeting of the Labour and Socialist International Executive in Vienna. He was refused a passport by Mussolini and compelled to remain within the grip of Fascists, and still they did not hesitate to add the worst to their string of misdeeds.

With the strict impartiality and critical exactitude of a scientist, Matteotti had collected accounts of Fascist crimes, grouped them under towns and months, and published them without comment. This calm collection of Fascist doings, however, contained in his book, "A Year of Fascism," constituted a flaming

attack on Mussolini's tyrannical government. He was in the midst of his work for the publication of a second edition, extended to the second year of Fascist Government. Through his death he himself is now a victim to this second year of Fascism. The historian has become part of history.

His life and his death will not have been in vain. Matteotti's fate will again make proletarians of all countries aware that Fascism, the most bestial form of capitalist "Order," is threatening them from all sides, and that they must unite forces in a tenacious and decisive fight against this most treacherous enemy of the Working Class.

In love and gratitude we mourn our dear Comrade with the Italian Socialists and we know that at the grave of their friend they will promise: We shall let nothing daunt us—come what may!

All the Socialist Parties expressed their passionate agreement with this protest. In all countries meetings were held and demonstrations organised. This great movement of international solidarity, which stirred the working masses of all countries to their depths, found expression in the following resolution of the Administrative Council of the L.S.I. on the 24th June, 1924:—

At its meeting of the 24th June, 1924, the Administrative Committee of the L.S.I. endorsed the manifestation of its Secretariat to the Italian Party on the occasion of the murder of Comrade Matteotti.

The Administrative Committee stated with satisfaction that this last and worst misdeed of Fascism has aroused in all countries *spontaneous demonstrations* by Socialist Parties in the form of public protests and meetings, in the Press and in Parliaments. Even the bourgeois Press has at last been forced to cease its shameless glorification of the Fascist régime. Even in their columns the truth about Fascist terrorism, to which Italy is exposed, has been denounced, though not sufficiently.

Already at its meeting in Vienna the Executive of the L.S.I. resolved that the documents collected by Matteotti, under the title of "A Year of Fascism," should also be published in English. The Administrative Committee resolved that all efforts should be made in order that these absolutely objective documents, which give the best possible exposition of the true character of Fascism, should have the largest possible circulation. The book, the impersonal importance of which has already been recognised, has now unfortunately achieved a special personal value, as the last bequest of our friend and Comrade—Matteotti.

The Italian Socialist Party on its side replied to these demonstrations in a letter on the 19th June addressed to the L.S.I. and to its affiliated Parties:—

COMRADES,

Giacomo Matteotti, the Secretary of the United Socialist Party, the ardent leader of our ranks, the brave and enthusiastic struggler for the international cause, fell victim to a vile aggression and was certainly killed, though his murderers have not yet rendered us his dead body.

The responsibility of this murder, executed with calculated purpose to hit the very heart of our Socialist movement, falls on the very highest personalities of the Fascist Party and the Fascist Government.

The news of the crime has already profoundly stirred the workers of the whole world; what we are giving here is but an official communication, denouncing to comrades and brothers of the Socialist International the loathsome crime. This is not the last the Italian proletariat will have to endure after three years of martyrdom in the struggle against ruthless oppression that does not even shrink from murder.

In the bitterness of our mourning for the irreparable loss of our martyr, Giacomo Matteotti, our only consolation is the ardent solidarity of the Socialist International that stigmatises in the whole world, by innumerable manifestations, the treacherous murder.

Under the storm of blood and violence our Party will not sway. We close our ranks and have called upon Comrade Luigi Basso to take the place of our fallen friend as Secretary of the United Socialist Party.

The International for ever! Socialism for ever!

Even before the murder of Matteotti, the Secretariat of the L.S.I. had taken the necessary steps to ensure the translation and distribution of his work, "A Year of Fascism." Through its influence reviews of it

appeared in the Socialist Press. After his death, on the proposal and to some extent with the collaboration of the Secretariat, the work has been published in the I.L.P. edition in an English translation, and in French, at the Belgian Party Press, "L'Eglantine." Also a German version has appeared. The work has come to be the strongest indictment of Fascism, the sharpest weapon of a movement of protest extending over the whole world. In rousing public opinion throughout the civilised world, which to-day is almost unanimous in its condemnation of Fascism, the L.S.I., its affiliated Parties, and the Socialist Press, have borne the chief parts.

With a like interest the L.S.I. has watched the events in *Hungary*, and has made itself with equal emphasis a mouthpiece for the sufferings of the Hungarian people. While at the Hamburg Congress the Hungarian Socialist Party was still unrepresented, one of their delegates appeared for the first time at the meeting of the Executive in Luxemburg. At that moment when Hungary was to be "reconstructed" with the help of the League of Nations, the Executive declared:

At a time when international finance is about to support the counter-revolutionary régime in Hungary by means of credits, the Executive appeals to all affiliated Parties to increase their efforts for the protection of the working classes in Hungary.

At the Annual Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party, held in April, 1924, the Chairman of the Administrative Committee—who was at the same time Chairman of the Labour Party—Comrade Cramp, attended on behalf of the L.S.I. He reported to the Executive at its meeting in Vienna, June, 1924, on his observations, and on the basis of his report the Executive declared publicly "that in Hungary the counter-revolutionary régime of Terror still persists, and it remains therefore the duty of all Socialist and Labour Parties to give moral support to the cruelly-treated Hungarian proletariat." Further information on the situation in Hungary was communicated to the Executive at its meeting in London by the Hungarian delegate.

At its meeting in Brussels, January, 1925, the Executive also dealt with the state of affairs within the Hungarian Party, and set up a Commission of Mediation which met in Vienna on the 26th January, 1925, with Comrade Shaw as chairman. (See pages 87, 88, 89 and 90.) The proceedings of the Commission elucidated the appalling conditions under which the Hungarian proletariat was forced to wage its fight, and which in themselves also account for the pact which the Hungarian Party leaders concluded in 1921 with the Bethlen Government, and which they now publicly renounced as null and void.

The first step forward in this elucidation was that the Hungarian Party had their hands freed to make, on the fifth anniversary of the horrible murder of Somogyi and Bacso, sensational revelations relating to this still unexpiated crime. They further intensified their accusations when it became known, through the deposition of the former Minister, Beniczky, that no other person but Horthy himself had been the initiator of this crime.

Since the first appearance of the "International Information," the Secretariat of the L.S.I. have striven especially to publish continually news of those countries where the Party is engaged in a severe fight against counter-revolution, and has placed this organ, as a means of inter-communication and as a weapon, at the disposal of these Parties. In this fashion it has always been possible to attract the attention of the public, to focus the interest of the working class in all countries on the occurrences in *Italy*, *Hungary*, *Spain*, *Roumania*, &c., and to lay bare before the world the outrages of international reaction. In this way more than in any other, in accordance with the dictates of the

Hamburg Congress, brotherly aid can be given to the proletariat in those countries, which first and last has to carry the heaviest burden of the fight.

The resolutions, &c., other than those already reproduced in full in the text, run as follows:—

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Luxemburg (February, 1924).

HUNGARY.

The Executive draws attention to the resolution of the Hamburg Congress on the Hungarian question, and again raises a strong protest against those Governments which are still supporting and protecting the ruling powers in Hungary, where, four-and-a-half years after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Government, the terrorist régime of the Counter-Revolution is still in full sway.

At a time when international finance is about to support the counter-revolutionary régime in Hungary by means of credits, the Executive appeals to all affiliated Parties to increase their efforts for the protection of the working classes in Hungary.

Extract from the Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Vienna (June, 1924).

Contrary to widely circulated propaganda, the Conference pronounced, after a report of the British delegate, Cramp, that the counter-revolutionary régime of terror in *Hungary* still persists, and that it remains, therefore, the duty of all Socialist and Labour Parties to give moral support to the cruelly-treated Hungarian proletariat.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Brussels (January, 1925).

THE TERROR IN ITALY.

The Executive Committee of the L.S.I. having heard with indignation the latest news from Italy—raids, suppressions of even the most modest opposition Press, adjournment of the Chamber, mobilisation of the party militia—which news has been transmitted through official agencies and confirmed by Mussolini's declaration in the Chamber in which brutal force cynically violates both reason and morals.

Expresses ardent sympathy with the Italian working class and the whole Italian people in the terrible ordeal which they have had to undergo, as well as the firm confidence that Italy will soon recover her self-determination and see the triumph of democracy.

5. THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

If during the last few years the Reparations question has been the pivot in all political affairs, and if therefore International Socialist action has been directed largely towards settling it, in the sphere of social reform it is the ratification of the *Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day* which focuses on itself all the thoughts and efforts of the international working class. The Eight-Hour Day, for so long the symbol of the workers' claim to an existence worthy of a human being, was achieved in most countries at the period following the war, when the power of the proletariat had increased. To-day, when what was so long an ideal, has become a reality, the problem is to defend this most vital social conquest against the ever sharper attacks of capitalist-employing classes in all countries, against their exactions and tricks of interpretation, and consequently to win international security for the Eight-Hour Day by means of a supernational law, which shall stand beyond the reach of employers' manoeuvres. This fight for the security of the Eight-Hour Day is proving as hard and stubborn as the struggle to win it. The heroic fight for the Eight-Hour Day as a symbol has passed into an equally tough fight for the Eight-Hour Day as a practical achievement, which has to be held.

It is obvious that this fight can only be waged by the political forces of the proletariat in alliance with their Trade Union organisations. For this reason the Hamburg Congress, in its resolution on "The Eight-Hour Day and International Social Reform," expressly intimated its agreement with the work of the I.F.T.U., and pointed out the need for co-operation, particularly in this sphere. In its later activity the L.S.I. has faithfully observed this instruction.

After the first consultation with the I.F.T.U. had been held in October, 1923, the L.S.I. Executive Meeting in Luxemburg decided to enter into negotiations for the nomination of a Joint Committee. This Committee actually came into being at a consultation in Amsterdam on March 1st, 1924. Its special function was—to establish unity of policy between the two bodies in the moves towards the ratification of the Washington Convention and in the matter of the treaties of guarantee.

In the meeting at Luxemburg the L.S.I. Executive further framed a resolution, which declared, in view especially of the infringement of the Eight-Hour Day in Germany and of the danger that any modification of the Eight-Hour Day in one country encourages the capitalists in all other countries to fresh attacks that:—

The Executive calls upon the workers of all countries vigorously to oppose any attacks by employers upon the Eight-Hour Day;

Notes with satisfaction the initiative taken by the Labour Government in England for the ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day;

Invites the Parties affiliated to the L.S.I. to support the efforts of the British Labour Government by endeavouring to obtain, each in their respective countries, the ratification of the Washington Convention;

And instructs the Bureau, in co-operation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, to organise, at an expedient moment, international mass action for the ratification of the Washington Convention.

The British Labour Government's initiative, unluckily, did not lead to any immediate success. Opposition within their own country made itself felt to some extent, and international hindrances supervened. In its appeal on May-Day, 1924, the International again strongly urged the workers of all countries to take up the fight for the Eight-Hour Day. (See page 12.) A fresh reminder was contained in a resolution of the Executive in Vienna (June, 1924—see page 51). At the same time, following a discussion that showed the complete unanimity between all parties, the Executive commissioned two of its members (De Brouckere and Wallhead), in co-operation with other comrades, to approach the Governments of the Western Powers. These steps led to partial success in France and Belgium. The Governments of the three Western Powers, Great Britain, France and Belgium, expressed their willingness to ratify simultaneously, on condition that Germany should do the same. Comrade Shaw, then British Minister of Labour, first had an interview with the French Minister of Labour, followed later on by a conference between the Labour Ministers of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany, at which fundamental agreement was reached. Nevertheless, despite the Ministers' assurances, conditional ratification has only quite recently been secured in France, and Belgium, after the Socialists have entered the Government, is about to ratify.

Meanwhile the joint meeting of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and of the I.F.T.U. in Amsterdam (July, 1924) investigated the question of the Eight-Hour Day, especially in connection with the execution of the Dawes Plan, and passed a resolution as follows:—

This Conference places on record the necessity of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day being ratified in all countries without delay. Noting that the Dawes Plan implicitly excludes any attack upon the Eight-Hour system in Germany, this Conference requests an agreement concerning

the carrying out of that report so as to guarantee the maintenance of the Eight-Hour Day in Germany, and, in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the Labour Group at the recent International Labour Conference at Geneva, asks the International Labour Office to continue its efforts towards assuring the Eight-Hour Day.

In its Manifesto on September 28th, 1924, the L.S.I. again indicated in weighty words the great goal of its efforts. (See page 15.) In the May-Day Appeal for 1925 also the conquest of an international guarantee for the Eight-Hour Day was given out as a watchword. And a decision of the Executive meeting in Paris (May, 1925) once more dwelt on the matter, as follows:—

The Labour and Socialist International urges, particularly upon the English, French and German sections, a vigorous and rapid action to obtain the ratification of the Convention of Washington on the Eight-Hour Day. But it considers that this question should form the object of a big joint effort by the working classes of all countries, regarding which agreement should be sought with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The special and overwhelming significance, which the L.S.I. attaches to this struggle, can be clearly seen from the fact, that the Executive at its meeting in London resolved, "with a view to keeping up a sustained exchange of ideas, to leave the question of the Eight-Hour Day permanently on the Agenda of the Executive meetings until the Washington Convention shall have been ratified."

Annexed is the full text of the Resolutions on social questions:—

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Luxemburg (February, 1924).

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Considering:

That the offensive launched against the Eight-Hour Day in Germany—one of the most fatal consequences of the Ruhr conflict—has encouraged employers in many countries to make violent attacks on the Eight-Hour Day;

That any violation of the Eight-Hour Day in one country immediately leads to vigorous attacks by the capitalist class upon the Eight-Hour Day in other countries;

The Executive calls upon the workers of all countries vigorously to oppose any attacks by employers upon the Eight-Hour Day;

Notes with satisfaction the initiative taken by the Labour Government in England for the ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day;

Invites the Parties affiliated to the L.S.I. to support the efforts of the British Labour Government by endeavouring to obtain, each in their respective countries, the ratification of the Washington Convention;

And instructs the Bureau, in co-operation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, to organise, at an expedient moment, international mass action for the ratification of the Washington Convention.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Vienna (June, 1924).

DEFEND THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

The Executive of the Labour and Socialist International endorses the resolution passed at its Luxemburg meeting on the Eight-Hour Day.

The Executive considers it necessary to denounce before the whole world the ceaseless activity amongst capitalists of all countries to wrest from the working classes that which they won through bitter sacrifices.

It is especially important that Labour should be informed about the hypocritical manoeuvres of international capitalism, in which more particularly German, Belgian and French Capitalism are uniting to impose considerably increased working hours upon the proletariat of the Ruhr district. These capitalists wish to profit from this so that the workers of their own respective countries will be compelled to adopt longer working hours under the pretext of patriotic interests.

The parties of all countries represented on the Executive are firmly resolved to fight for the preservation of the workers' leisure, which they regard as one of the basic conditions of proletarian culture. They assure the German workers of their complete solidarity, and shall use all efforts to give them practical help in their struggle.

The Executive reminds affiliated parties of all countries of the absolute necessity of objective action to force the Governments of their countries to assure the speediest possible ratification of the Washington Convention.

Resolutions of the Joint Meeting of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. at Brussels (January, 1925).

FOR THE RATIFICATION OF THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

The Bureaus of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, in a joint meeting at Brussels on the 3rd January, 1925, examined the common efforts which might be employed in order that all countries, especially the most highly industrialised, ratify as soon as possible the conventions adopted by the International Labour Conferences, above all the Washington Convention regarding the Eight-Hour Day.

Considering that an early and satisfactory solution of this question is of interest to the working class in particular and to the community of nations in general;

And that preparation for the celebration of the First of May, 1925 (in which programme efforts for the ratification of the Eight-Hour Convention should head the list), could usefully be supported by discussions in the various Parliaments;

The Bureaus resolve that, as soon as the French Chamber ratifies the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day, and at latest during the first half of April, the parliamentary groups of all Socialist parties will raise the matter in their respective Parliaments.

NIGHT WORK IN BAKERIES.

The Bureaus of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, in a joint meeting at Brussels on the 3rd January, 1925, examined the question of the abolition of night work in bakeries, in connection with the draft convention voted at the first reading by the sixth International Labour Conference.

Both Bureaus expressed complete agreement with the principle contained in the draft, which embodies a just claim on the part of the bakers.

The Bureaus request the Socialist and Labour Press immediately to initiate a most energetic campaign in favour of the proposed convention.

The Bureaus further resolve that the political and trade union movements in each country shall co-operate, so that, at the seventh International Labour Conference, which opens next May in Geneva, the convention be voted at the second reading and its ratification assured for the date fixed, *i.e.*, 1st January, 1927.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. at Paris (May, 1925).
(See page 51.)

6. THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR.

From the frightful catastrophe of the World War arises the demand for a safeguard against the recurrence of such a disaster. Even the capitalist Powers who launched the World War, find themselves compelled after its close to make concessions to the horror felt throughout the exhausted world, and to the revulsion among the masses of workers and peasants, churned up by the war: and so there comes to life the League of Nations which, nevertheless, plainly bears the mark of its dual origin, arising as it did out of the fears of victorious imperialism. The more capitalism recovers from the shock caused by the World War, the further does the League of Nations in its present form depart from the conception of world peace, which is its basis.

On the other hand the tendency of post-war capitalism is itself turned towards agreements. The concentration of capital oversteps the boundaries of the separate national states; imperialist exploitation moves on an international scale from competition towards the combine.

One capitalist conference follows another: but all of them remain bound by the contradiction inherent in capitalism. The capitalists are capable of coming to an understanding amongst themselves: but capitalism is not capable of answering for an understanding among nations.

On the other hand, after the terrible experiences and trials of the World War, there has grown up in the working class an increasing feeling that it is itself the only guardian of world peace. *The fight against war* stands in the very forefront of its vital interests. The Hamburg Congress devoted its special attention to it, and announced in its resolution on "The Imperialist peace and the working-class policy," as follows:

One of the most important tasks of the workers of all countries is to watch over the foreign policy of their governments, to oppose strongly every measure which might aggravate international difficulties or imperil peace, to oppose the oppression of alien peoples and to secure for them the right of complete self-determination, and to demand that all international conflicts be settled by impartial arbitration. This struggle of the international Working Class against imperialist policy will be most effective if labour everywhere fights against the imperialism and capitalism of its own country, with all parliamentary and extra-parliamentary means at its disposal for the class-struggle, and if this struggle is ever more and more united internationally.

Permanent peace can only result from general disarmament by land, sea and air. One-sided disarmament of the defeated nations increases the danger of imperialist oppression; general disarmament abolishes this danger. In every country, labour must exercise a continuous pressure upon its own government to compel it to propose general disarmament to the other countries.

Labour must repudiate all military alliances which transform local conflicts into general wars, and all secret agreements which dispose of the life and liberty of the peoples for unknown aims.

The League of Nations threatens to become either a thing of no importance at all, or an instrument of reaction and imperialism. It is the duty of the working class to resist this fatal tendency and to use its power in every country to secure that all nations shall be admitted to the League, that its organisation shall be made democratic, and that the workers of each country shall exercise effective control over the actions of their delegates on the League. In this way it may be so transformed that it will become an effective instrument to secure (a) the interests of peace, (b) the rights of peoples, and (c) the revision of the existing Peace Treaties.

Since that time the idea of preparing preventive measures against war, and the attempt to create for this purpose a super-state machinery or at least one that embraces several states, has also taken concrete form in the schemes of capitalist governments. In their minds it is coupled with the anxieties felt by the victors in the World War, especially France, which dread the vengeance of the defeated. This question of "Securities" forms the obverse of the Western and Central European problems, and, since the Reparations question, directly involved in the execution of the Treaties of Peace, has been to some extent settled, it has forced its way into the foreground of European politics. To-day, as did the question of reparations at the time of the Hamburg Congress, this question faces the International and the Socialist Parties of every country. It demands solution and it harbours danger.

Moreover, the actual forms in which this problem has appeared have altered perpetually in the course of the last two years. Whenever the International took it up it had to deal with another aspect of the question, and it was sometimes even difficult to follow the rapidity of the transformation.

The first of these forms was the *Treaty of Mutual Assistance* (Cecil-Réquin) which was worked out by the so-called "Mixed Commission" of the League of Nations. By request of the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, who had taken part in the labours of the Mixed Commission as delegates from the workers' group

of the International Labour Office, this scheme was taken as one of the two matters, as to which the Joint Commission of Four of the I.F.T.U. and of the L.S.I., set up in March, 1924, had to establish a permanent understanding between the two organisations. In this connection the Secretariat then addressed a circular-letter to the members of the Executive, and was able to report to the meeting of the Executive in Vienna (June, 1924), that the answers so far received from Comrades Branting, Czech and Troelstra* were altogether negative. Particular objection was taken to it from various quarters, on the ground that within the scheme of this Treaty, separate alliances between single states were to be admitted. The Executive resolved to communicate the answers as they came in to the affiliated parties and also to the I.F.T.U. and, meanwhile, to postpone further consideration of the question.

However, this further consideration was never given. The Fifth Session of the League of Nations, in September, 1924, set aside the Treaty of Mutual Assistance; in its place, with the active co-operation of the delegates of the British Labour Government and of those of the French Government, which was being supported by the Socialist Party, it put the *Geneva Protocol*. This document declares war to be an offence against international order, defines the notion of "attack" by classing as an assailant any state refusing to submit to arbitration, and frames measures to check any such attack by economic and military steps to be taken by other states under the guidance of the League of Nations.

Towards this project the L.S.I. defined its attitude at its Conference in Brussels (January, 1925)—at a moment when political conditions bearing upon the Geneva Protocol had already changed once again, especially through the resignation of the British Labour Government. First, at the Bureau meeting of the L.S.I., an extremely thorough discussion was held, which was afterwards continued at a joint sitting with the Bureau of the I.F.T.U. Material for discussion was provided by a memorandum worked out by Comrade Brailsford, on instructions from the Administrative Committee, together with a study by Comrade Jouhaux. The debate turned especially on the question as to how far the actual boundaries of countries would be fixed for ever by means of the Protocol, and as to how far states (particularly the naval power of England) might in certain circumstances be compelled to let themselves be involved in a war on account of some conflict in the Near or Far East, in itself quite remote from their interests. The resolution adopted, the English delegation abstaining, declares:—

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.

Whilst realising the imperfections of the Geneva Protocol, the joint meeting of the Two Internationals declares that the Protocol marks a definite progress in the cause of the peace of the world, and in consideration of the fact that, if the Geneva Protocol is not ratified and the Disarmament Conference does not take place, nations will be driven to seek security in special treaties of assistance which would inevitably lead to a system of opposing alliances and increase the danger of war;

Decides that it is the duty of the entire Socialist and Labour Movement in all countries to concentrate their efforts in order to obtain the ratification of the Geneva Peace Protocol and the convocation as soon as possible of the Disarmament Conference embodied in the same Protocol.

Later on the British Labour Party also declared its approval of the principles of the Protocol; but meanwhile the situation had altered once more. The Geneva Protocol fell to the ground through the opposition of the Conservative British Government. In these circumstances, the May-Day Appeal of 1925 gave out as a watchword "the security of peace under

*The detailed statement by Comrade Troelstra has appeared in print (in Dutch in *De Socialistische Gids*, 9th year, No. 5; in German in the *Gesellschaft*, 1st year No. 3.

Labour's control." It recorded that the Geneva Protocol would have marked an important step on the road towards securing peace by treaties and arbitration, and proclaimed a continuance of the fight for the principles of the Protocol to be the task of the International proletariat. At its meeting in Paris (May, 1925) the L.S.I. Executive again confirmed the resolution passed at Brussels, and added that at the next Plenary Session of the League of Nations, a delegation should be present to lend emphasis to this resolution. At the same time it empowered the Secretariat, if circumstances should so require, to call a meeting of the Bureau in order to prepare in common such steps as might be necessary.

These instructions were directed towards the new development which in the meanwhile had arisen. In international politics the place of the Geneva Protocol was taken by various more or less comprehensive schemes of alliance, in particular, by the plan of a *Security Pact* between France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium and Italy, which derives from a proposal of the German Government. In that proposal the German Government declared its readiness to recognise unconditionally the present western frontier of Germany, and with regard to the eastern frontier to renounce any other prospect than that opened up in the Treaty of Versailles itself of a revision by peaceful means. Towards this proposal the individual Parties do not take up an entirely agreed standpoint. They do, however, agree that the Security Pact must not be allowed to bar the way to the attainment of more comprehensive sureties for peace, such as the Geneva Protocol; that it must be supported by general measures of disarmament; that it must not be directed against an individual Power or a group of Powers, and also especially not against Russia; and finally that the Arbitration Treaties between Germany and her eastern neighbours, provided by it, must be placed under a genuine International Guarantee. The International Congress will have to concern itself with all these questions.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

In the background of all these questions stands the *League of Nations*. Towards this institution there is no unity of attitude within the L.S.I. Whilst some Parties see in it the aspiring endeavour towards a supernational organ of justice, others, especially those who have themselves experienced the flaws in its present structure, are inclined rather to see in it a distorted image of its own original idea, allowing itself to be exploited by capitalist interests as a tool and as a mask. But in any case all are agreed that the League of Nations, like every other institution of capitalist society, is dual, and in its present form is *in need of improvement*, but by its constitution is *also capable of it*, and that a fundamental reform of its organisation and of its working is essential. At its sitting in Vienna the L.S.I. Executive was acquainted by the Austrian Party with the, to some extent, most undesirable results of the League of Nations intervention in *Austria*, where its machinery is being placed wholly at the service of capitalist interests, is open to any hint from the capitalist side, and by its infringements of the workers' rights is bringing its prestige into sore disrepute.

Linked up with the attitude towards the League of Nations is the attitude towards certain international bodies, which, directly or indirectly, collaborate with it or serve kindred aims: particularly the *League of Nations Union* and the *Inter-Parliamentary Union*. In the work of both organisations Socialists, both personally and also individual Socialist Parties as such, take part. The Secretariat has attempted by means of a questionnaire, to elucidate the views taken of these organisations and as far as possible to unify them. The replies to this questionnaire, which

were laid before the Executive at their meeting in Brussels, displayed, however, such wide divergencies between the opinions of individual Parties on this subject that the matter has had to be deferred for further consideration.

IMPERIALISM AND COLONIES.

The vision of a truly international organisation automatically raises the question of the grouping within it of *non-European countries*. This is the problem of *Imperialism and Colonies*, on which, as being the cause of the gravest dangers of war, the resolution of the Hamburg Congress affirmed:—

In order to prevent international conflicts in their very origin Labour must oppose the expansion of colonial powers, the exploitation of native peoples and the violent destruction of their economic systems, and must demand self-government for native races, or where conditions make this impossible, deliberate measures to prepare them as rapidly as possible for self-government.

IMPERIALISM AND EGYPT.

During the period of the Report the L.S.I., through the Anglo-Egyptian conflict especially, has had occasion to go into this aspect of the problem. This it did at two meetings of the Administrative Committee and also at the Executive meeting in Brussels, which stigmatised in the following resolution the conduct of English imperialism in the Egyptian question:—

The Executive takes note of British Labour's energetic protest in Parliament, in the Labour Press and in public meetings, against the British ultimatum to Egypt, which used the occasion of the murder of the Sirdar to impose by force a series of political and economic demands, and by these means to deprive Egyptian independence of all reality. It joins with British Labour in protesting against the British Government's refusal to admit the jurisdiction of the League of Nations in disputes arising out of the British military occupation of Egypt and threatening to disturb good understanding between nations.

It is of opinion, moreover, that Egypt being an independent State, should be a member of the League of Nations, with the rights and obligations of a member of the League.

CHINA AND MOROCCO.

At the moment when this Report closes new and grave entanglements have come to the fore: the armed intervention of the Powers in the disorders in China, and the French Colonial War in Morocco. These incidents point more strongly than ever to the duty incumbent on the Socialist Parties, a duty proclaimed in the following words by the resolution of the Hamburg Congress:—

The International calls upon the workers of all countries to put an end to their disastrous divisions, and combine their whole strength in a determined struggle against imperialism.

The first requirement of the struggle is that the Labour and Socialist Parties of all countries refuse all support to an imperialist war, and that their Parliamentary representatives, in accordance with this attitude, withhold their consent to military or war credits having imperialist objects.

Still a further problem arises in this connection from the point of view of Socialists: the *relations with the non-European Labour Movement*, which for the L.S.I. are above all a vital problem of organisation. The Executive first investigated this question, following reports from the Secretariat at the London meeting and afterwards with special thoroughness at the meeting in Brussels. The Secretariat has frequently attempted both to enter upon closer contact with the affiliated non-European Parties, and also to enter into relations with those not already affiliated. The Executive has examined various proposals to draw the workers of other continents into the great organisation of the working class, which by this road alone can become a true International and rise to its great mission: the foundation of a world-wide community of nations.

In the fulfilment of this task, which forms the goal of its fight against war, the L.S.I. yields to no illusions. It has given clear utterance to its fundamental conviction in that great appeal against war, for which the historical occasion was offered by the tenth recurrence of the terrible memories of the outbreak of war:

During the war we were told that it would result in a League of Nations, which would render future wars impossible. But how remote from the realisation of the great ideal of a *peacefully organised world* is the body which to-day bears this name! We therefore claim that the League of Nations should include *all* countries, that it should become an instrument of peoples rather than of Governments. We do not want to miss any means of reconciliation, but we know that *the interests of capitalism must clash with the peaceful organisation of the world*. Therefore the danger of war will endure as long as capitalism itself endures.

We must work *against the spirit of war, against secret diplomacy, for general disarmament, for peaceful understanding and for international arbitration*. We must organise all forces in our Trade Unions, in our Co-operatives, in our political organisations, in Parliaments, inside the League of Nations, and everywhere where we may become influential. We must unite internationally in order to prepare every form of international defence against war, including the general strike. But we know that by all these means we shall only diminish the danger of war, not abolish it.

As long as militarism retains its tremendous machinery of power, as long as the capitalist forces are able to set this machine in motion, so long will working men and women remain the victims of war. Physical force, economic pressure and, last but not least, effective war propaganda may again put weapons in their hands and make them—even against their own wills—the blind instruments of warmongers. Against this personal conscientious objection will always prove an impressive demonstration, but cannot work on a scale which would really avail to check the evil.

Therefore there is no other way than to *uproot the possibility of war—to abolish the capitalist order of society. Labour ruling in all countries will not only mean the end of exploitation, but also the end of war.*

CHAPTER II.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN ORGANISATION.

1. THE PARTIES.

Of the Parties which responded to the call to the Hamburg Initial Congress and whose admission to the Congress was agreed upon, all, with the single exception of the Socialist Party of Switzerland, have after the Congress carried out their formal entry into the newly-founded L.S.I.

In the course of the period covered by the Report some Parties, who had not been represented at Hamburg, applied for admission to the L.S.I. The Executive approved the inclusion of the following Parties :— *Labour Union of British Guiana* (ratified in the Luxemburg Meeting, February, 1924), *Socialist Party of Argentine* (Vienna, June, 1924), and the *Socialist Party of Portugal* (Paris, May, 1925). On the other hand the Executive has rejected the request for admission from the "Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia—Provincial Organisation for Slovenia," and advised it to join the Party affiliated to the L.S.I.

The Right Socialist "Menshevist" Party of Latvia was not allowed participation in the Hamburg Congress, and the material concerning it was handed over to the new Executive. The latter occupied itself with the question at its meetings in Luxemburg and Vienna. Before the meeting in Vienna was a written report from Comrade Tseretelli, who, being present as Delegate of the International at the Annual Congress of the Latvian Socialist Party, had examined the state of affairs between the Socialist Parties in Latvia. The Executive was not in a position to admit the entry of the Latvian "Menshevist" Party into the L.S.I.

Of the "Socialist Union" in Czecho-Slovakia, which was represented at the Hamburg Congress and affiliated to the L.S.I., the greater part of the membership (the former "Independents" under the leadership of Brodecky) has during the period of the Report reunited with the Czech Socialist Party. The remainder (Group Vrbensky) have not, it is true, formally left the L.S.I., but after they had left unanswered an inquiry addressed to them on their present standing, as decided by the Executive Meeting in Brussels, they were struck off the list of affiliated Parties.

The L.S.I. now owns sections in all European States with the exception of Switzerland. Connection with the Labour Parties outside Europe still needs building up. During the period of the Report various attempts were made to establish contact; this question was discussed in detail especially at the Executive Meeting in Brussels. Immediately after the Hamburg Congress a communication on the foundation of the L.S.I. was sent to all the Parties not represented at the Congress. In December, 1924, the Administrative Committee decided to direct a further circular to the non-European Labour Parties, which ran as follows :—

DEAR COMRADE,

It is our keen desire to make the Labour and Socialist International world-wide, and with that object we are addressing an appeal to all countries not now affiliated to join our organisation. Nearly all the European parties are already affiliated and we have, in addition, the Socialists of the U.S.A. and the Argentine.

We do not need to point out that, under the present state of economic development, there is no country in the world that is independent of other countries, and that progress towards a more ideal economic condition for the workers will always be bound up with the condition obtaining in all countries of the world. There is no country that can now say it is independent of other countries, and that it is immaterial to it what other countries are doing. All of us are bound together by bonds we cannot break, and our conditions will be modified by conditions in countries over which we have no control except the control and the influence that may be exercised by a powerful *International Organisation of the Workers*.

The principles of the Labour and Socialist International are simple, clear and well defined. By reading the enclosed copy of the *decisions of the Hamburg Congress* you may judge whether it is possible for your Party to affiliate with us. We are also sending you the latest copy of our Bulletin. Should you be in any doubt please write at once and we will give you the fullest information possible.

We extend to you a very hearty invitation to join us in the world-wide struggle for the economic and political emancipation of the Workers.

In Chapter V. of this Report short outlines of all the Parties affiliated are given, which in essentials rest upon the communications of the Parties themselves and give their own ideas. It will there be seen, especially where several Parties exist in one country, now and then with different views, that the differences actually existing between the Parties become just as obvious as the essential unity which permits their joint inclusion in one International Organisation.

2. VOTING RIGHTS OF THE PARTIES.

The extent to which parties share the right to participate in the decisions of the International, finds its expression in the question of the distribution of votes. Every party desires to see its influence as great as possible, and on the other hand it is in the interests of the International that the real strength of the working classes in the different countries shall form the basis of voting rights.

If we consider the International before the war we shall notice a continual development in the methods of voting. Voting by show of hands can produce very different results according to the country in which a congress takes place, for naturally there will be a larger number of delegates from the countries that lie nearest to the place of the Congress. In 1889 in Paris there was an absolute majority of French delegates, in 1891 in Brussels the majority was Belgian. But it is only in questions on which everyone is agreed that this method of voting which might be adequate in public meetings is possible at a Congress. Already in 1889 in Paris it was found necessary to vote by nations, and at Brussels in 1891 the following decision was arrived at: "Questions of principle will be decided by national voting." At the commencement this principle was used so that all nations had the same voting power. In the Paris Congress of 1900 every nation had two votes, so that if unity did not exist within national sections, minorities could be declared in the vote. But this system was almost as far from expressing the real strength of the parties in the International as voting by show of hands. A country with a movement just beginning and perhaps represented by only a single delegate at the Congress had as much influence on the decisions of the International as highly developed industrial countries with powerful workers' organisations. The impracticability of this system of voting was clearly shown in the memorable decisions at the Amsterdam Congress of 1904. The preparatory conference which sat in Brussels in 1907 worked out a proposal for the following Congress in which the number of votes given to parties was based on the strength of those parties. This principle has formed the groundwork of the system of voting since the Stuttgart Congress of 1907. It was also accepted at the

Hamburg Congress which founded the L.S.I., and embodied in the constitution (Article 9) under the following form :—

The Executive Committee will allow each party represented at the Congress a certain number of votes in the plenary meetings. The basis of this number of votes is the membership of the Party, and the total strength of the organised working class in the respective countries (trade unions, co-operatives, number of electors, party press, &c.). The maximum for each party is 30 votes.

But the distribution of votes itself was only arranged provisionally at Hamburg. Protests against the proposals of the Organising Committee had been received from ten Parties. Having considered them the Organising Committee suggested that its proposals should be adopted "for this Congress" (Hamburg), so as to avoid long discussions on the question during the actual sittings of the Congress, and to arrange the matter later in the Executive. This was agreed to, but Comrade Faure, on behalf of the French Party, declared that, though they did not wish to take up time at the Congress, they felt bound to demand that the Executive would again go into the question of votes at the very next meeting. (See report of the Congress, pages 44-45). The fact that agreement was attained was due to the fact that, at Hamburg, parties did not attach too much importance to the question of votes, seeing that decisions could only be adopted by a majority of two-thirds.

The distribution of votes decided by the Hamburg Congress was as follows :—

| Country. | Votes. |
|-----------------------|--------|
| England : | |
| Labour Party | 28 |
| I.L.P. | 2— 30 |
| Germany | 30 |
| France | 16 |
| Czecho-Slovakia | |
| Czech S.P. | 8 |
| German S.P. | 7 |
| Socialist Union | 1— 16 |
| Italy | 15 |
| Belgium | 15 |
| Austria : | |
| German S.P. | 14 |
| Czech S.P. | 1— 15 |
| Russia : | |
| S.D.P. | 6 |
| S.R.P. | 6— 12 |
| Sweden | 12 |
| Denmark | 12 |
| America | 12 |
| Poland : | |
| P.S.P. | 8 |
| German S.P. | 1 |
| Indep. S.P. | 1— 10 |
| Hungary | 8 |
| Holland | 7 |
| Switzerland | 7 |
| Finland | 6 |
| Roumania | 3 |
| Norway | 3 |
| Georgia | 3 |
| Armenia | 2 |
| Latvia | 2 |
| Bulgaria | 1 |
| Danzig | 1 |
| Esthonia | 1 |
| Yugo-Slavia | 1 |
| Lithuania | 1 |
| Luxemburg | 1 |
| Poale-Zion | 1 |
| Turkey | 1 |
| Ukraine | 1 |
| TOTAL | 246 |

Since then the Executive has repeatedly considered the question of the distribution of votes to individual Parties, and to the Rules framed by the Hamburg Congress made the following alterations :—

At the Executive Meeting in Luxemburg (February, 1924) the Socialist Party of *Spain* was allotted 3 Congress votes.

At its meeting in Vienna (June, 1924) the Executive passed a series of resolutions on the distribution of votes, which had previously been thoroughly considered at a special meeting of the Bureau. At this meeting of the Bureau representatives took part of those Parties, which had requested an increase in their allotted number of Congress votes, namely, Varandian (Armenia), Diamand (Poland, Polish Socialist Party), Bezpalko (Ukraine), and Kaplansky (Poale-Zion). The resolutions passed were :—

POALE-ZION.

- (1) Palestine to be included in the list of affiliated countries.
- (2) The Confederation Poale-Zion is the only party announced, so far, from Palestine. This Party is recognised.
- (3) The Confederation Poale-Zion has members in many other countries outside Palestine. Paragraph (§) 10 of the Rules concerning nations spread over many countries applies to the Confederation Poale-Zion. Members of this Confederation living abroad will be counted as belonging to the affiliated Party in Palestine, provided that they do not belong to another affiliated Party in the country in which they are living.
- (4) Palestine to have two Congress votes given to the Party Poale-Zion pending a revision of the votes should other parties from Palestine affiliate.

ARMENIA.

That Armenia's votes be raised from two to three, thereby giving Armenia a representative of its own in the Executive.

UKRAINIA.

That Ukrainia's vote be raised from one to three, with the statement that, as the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party is the only affiliated party from that country, so far, the three votes are now allotted to that party.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

The Executive noted the communication from the parties in Czecho-Slovakia stating that the following repartition of the votes allotted to this country had been agreed between them : Czecho-Slovakian S.D., 8 ; German S.D., 6 ; Hungarian S.D., 1 ; Socialist Union, 1.

ARGENTINE.

That, in view of the Socialist Party of the Argentine having now definitely announced its affiliation to the L.S.I., three votes be allotted to the said Party.

The general question of the distribution of votes was indeed raised anew at nearly every meeting of the Executive, but as sufficient material for its regulation was lacking, it was again and again postponed. The allocation of votes was previously made in general according to a mere estimate, and on no side was it felt that these estimates were correctly based. Those who have ever taken part in the trying and unprofitable discussions on this question will have intensely felt the need of a real guiding principle by which to decide.

Therefore, again and again, a desire has been expressed for a revision of the entire system of voting rights, and for a better foundation for vote distribution. This wish the Secretariat of the L.S.I. met by the preparation of a memorandum, which was laid before the Executive Meeting in Paris (May, 1925) and by it referred to the Parties for their decisions. Out of this memorandum we reproduce the following general statements, which also give some insight into the complications involved in the building up of an international organisation :—

TWO METHODS OF CALCULATION.

There are two standpoints from which it is possible to approach this sharing out of the votes. One is that countries can be regarded as recruiting grounds for the Labour Movement and their possibilities for the future can be taken into account. The other is that the actual present strength of the affiliated parties should be taken as the point of departure. The first method was in use

before the war. To-day, when the working class has been so often split it corresponds less to the facts than ever. As, however, this system is still being often advocated in discussions, it will be as well to call attention to the difficulties which its application would entail. It will be seen what extraordinary difficulties would arise in attempting to form an ideal scheme really in accord with the strength of the parties if we had to try to estimate the possibilities of development, and how many votes should be allowed to remain in abeyance until the possibilities were realised. For such a system we should first of all want to know how large the working class is in every country, its proportion to the remainder of the population, its possibilities of recruitment and political development, and we should also have to examine the question as to how far agricultural workers should be taken into account with the industrial workers. As industrialism is not a constant factor, the calculation must be a purely theoretical one, because by the time the calculated strength in organisation would have been attained, the possibilities of recruitment might have grown much wider.

If this method of calculation is to give any real results we must also know to what extent the workers are class conscious. That will be shown in the first place by the number of Trade Unionists. Those countries where the relationship between the number of workers and the number of trade unionists is most favourable would have to be taken as the point of departure and the other countries must be compared with them. We would have further to examine the political strength of the Labour Movement as shown in the membership of the Party, in the voting strength and the circulation of the party press, and how these things correspond with the strength of the Trade Unions and the total aggregate of the working class. Of the votes allowed for recruiting possibilities there would then have to be in every country a modification in accordance with the possibility of development of the Party in the future.

These short observations show how complicated this method would be if it were seriously attempted to put it into practice, and however interesting the results of an enquiry into the constitution, strength and possibilities of development of individual parties might be, they are far more fitted for a theoretical study than for the practical political object of discovering how to distribute votes. It is better, therefore, to take the second method and begin with the actual strength of the affiliated parties, attempting from that basis to define the relative position of each Party.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR THE PARTITION OF CONGRESS VOTES.

We start with the number of members of the Party. As, however, in many countries, the actual political strength of the Party is not fully expressed by its membership, we must investigate the relationship between party membership, the number of Trade Unionists and the number of those who have voted for the Party. In cases where the political organisation is relatively small we allocate further votes on account of the number of Party votes or on account of Trade Union strength.

In estimating the membership figure one must differentiate between purely political organisations and those parties to which the Trade Unions are affiliated in a body, such as England, Belgium, Hungary. In the latter case we shall count in the entire number of the politically organised, but the others only in a proportion corresponding to the average ratio between trade unionists and the politically organised in other countries. Up till now such parties have been paying on half their total membership.

(a) COUNTRIES WITH ONE AFFILIATED PARTY.

For the distribution of votes we propose a scale which will favour the smaller parties, as is now the case, rather than the large. According to the constitution the maximum number of Congress votes held by any party is 30 and the scale would be as follows:—

| For Parties | | Votes. |
|-------------------|---------------|--------|
| up to | 3,000 members | 1 |
| from 3,001 | 6,000 | 2 |
| 6,001 | 9,000 | 3 |
| 9,001 | 15,000 | 4 |
| 15,001 | 25,000 | 5 |
| 25,001 | 40,000 | 6 |
| 40,001 | 55,000 | 7 |
| 55,001 | 70,000 | 8 |
| 70,001 | 85,000 | 9 |
| 85,001 | 100,000 | 10 |
| 100,001 | 150,000 | 11 |
| for every further | 50,000 | 1 |

In addition to the above we now propose in the first place to accord further votes to those parties whose electoral strength is very large in comparison to the Party membership. We therefore propose to allocate additional votes of this class to all parties whose election poll is *more than three times* the figure of the Party membership. For every 150,000 votes polled after the limit of three times the membership we propose to accord one vote.

In certain rare cases we shall have to take into account Trade Union movements that are unproportionally large, but only where there is a real connection between Party and Trade Unions. In cases where the Trade Union figures exceed double the number of Party members we propose an additional vote for every 100,000 trade unionists. In countries where the Party might claim extra votes, both in respect of voters and Trade Unionists, we can only allow the claim on behalf of one of the categories, *i.e.*, that which will give the most extra votes.

Finally, *extraordinary circumstances* should also give entitlement to votes, for instance, where parties are half illegal or where terror prevents extension of the Party. For parties which are quite illegal, such as those of Soviet Russia, votes could only be accorded in this way.

In countries where the voters and the number of Trade Unionists are less than the number of Party members we must seek an explanation of the conditions leading to such extraordinary results and possibly go to the extent of *reducing* the number of votes.

(b) COUNTRIES WITH SEVERAL AFFILIATED PARTIES.

The problem in this respect arises in countries inhabited by several different nationalities and where these different nationalities have separate parties. The method of voting on the principles stated above would favour such countries in an extraordinary manner, for every single party in the country would have the advantage of the scale as set out above. Two parties existing in one country might thus have a great deal more voting power than the same number of members in a united movement in another country.

To avoid that, the calculation of Congress Votes will first have to be done for the number of members of *all* the organisations in any country. The second task will be the sharing of these Congress Votes amongst the parties in a given country. This calculation must be made from an international point of view but care must also be taken to secure equal rights to each nation. If we simply gave votes according to strength, small minorities would be at a great disadvantage, for they would be robbed of the privilege accorded to small parties. For instance, the Czechs in Austria would get no vote at all for their 14,700 members, because, in proportion to the 566,000 members of the German-Austrian Party, they would not count. So that a method must be found inside the scheme to take such cases into account.

Calculation could be made in the following manner: Beginning with the smallest party, we multiply its membership by the number of parties in the country and see from the table how many Congress Votes would be given for such a membership figure. These Congress Votes would then be divided by the number of parties which would share the number of Congress Votes. What the smallest Party shall receive is already decided and this Party drops out of account. Then we take the second smallest Party and calculate in the same way. We continue until only one Party remains, which will take the rest of the votes. This method of calculation will give to the different minorities claims which will correspond to the favourable calculation for small parties in the general scheme.

The differences in the result of these methods of calculation can be shown by an example from Austria. If we took the Germans and Czechs in Austria separately, the Germans would get 21 votes and the Czechs 4, the total for Austria being 25. If we take Austria as a unity it gets only 21 votes, which worked out according to the ordinary proportional method, would all go to the German Austrians. Calculated by the method just suggested, however, the Germans would get 18 and the Czechs 3.

It may be asked whether the methods adopted for national minorities should also be applied when there has been a split in parties, or whether, in the latter case, strict proportions should enter into account. This question is scarcely of any importance at present, for there is only one case of such a split Party (Poland). We would propose, for simplicity's sake, to make the above method apply in all cases where more than one Party exists in any country.

3. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE L.S.I.

The Executive of the L.S.I. has for the internal life of our international organisation won a much greater significance than could originally have been foreseen. At the beginning, on account of the high cost, the intention was to call the Executive together perhaps only once a year, and in the interval the affairs of the L.S.I. should be left to the smaller body, the Bureau, to carry on; to-day there probably exists within the whole of the L.S.I. agreement that the regular meetings of the Executive have contributed extraordinarily much to the mutual insight between the Socialist Parties and to the understanding reached between them. The Executive held in Hamburg itself, during the Hamburg Congress and immediately after it, altogether four meetings, in which were settled the basic decisions for putting into practice, in organisation, the Statutes set up by the Hamburg Congress. Since the Hamburg Congress the Executive has met together five times, every time for sittings of several days.

The members of the Executive are elected by the Parties, who have the right, in the case of the Executive member being unable to attend, to send a deputy. The Parties, on account of the political difficulties in their own countries, have comparatively often had to make use of this right.

According to Article II of the Statutes, Great Britain and Germany each send three representatives to the Executive; America, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, each send two, and the remaining Parties, in so far as they have three or more Congress votes, one each.

Also, in order to allow the smaller Parties some representation in the Executive, and on the other hand, to prevent the number of Executive members becoming too swollen, the Statutes lay down that Parties "who have less than three Congress votes can themselves join together in groups, which, for every three Congress votes, can have a representative in the Executive." In accordance with this decision the following groups of Parties were formed:—

Yugo-Slavia—Bulgaria—Turkey: (3 votes).
Latvia—Esthonia: (3 votes).
Armenia—Poale-Zion: (3 votes).
Poland, Ind. S.P.—Poland, German S.P.—Czecho-Slovakia, Socialist Union: (3 votes).

To the last group Danzig also affiliated in June, 1923, so that it then became entitled to four votes. Through the lapse of the Socialist Union of Czecho-Slovakia from the L.S.I., it became again reduced to three votes.

When in June, 1924, Armenia, by being allotted three Congress votes, became entitled to an independent representative, the group Armenia—Poale-Zion broke up.

The following Parties are at present without representation in the Executive:—British Guiana, Greece, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Czecho-Slovakian S.P. in Austria, Palestine, Polish S.P. in Czecho-Slovakia, Hungarian S.P. in Czecho-Slovakia, Hungarian Emigrant Group "Villagossag."

The Executive was provisionally elected by the delegates at the Hamburg Congress, as follows:—

America: Berger, Hillquit.
Armenia—Poale-Zion: Varandian (Kaplansky).
Austria: Bauer, Skaret.
Belgium: De Brouckère, Vandervelde.
Czecho-Slovakia: (Czech S.P.) Nemec.
Czecho-Slovakia: (German S.P.) Dr. Czech.
Denmark: Madsen, Stauning.

Great Britain: Henderson, MacDonald, Thomas.
Finland: Wiik.
France: Bracke, Longuet.
Germany: Crispian, Müller, Wels.
Georgia: Tsereteli.
Holland: Troelstra.
Italy: Modigliani, Treves.
Latvia—Esthonia: Zeelens.
Norway: Nilssen.
Poland: Diamand.
Poland, Independent S.P.—Poland, German S.P.—Czecho-Slovakia, Socialist Union: Drobner (Vrbensky).
Russia: Abramowitsch, Suchomlin.
Roumania: Voinea.
Sweden: Branting, Moeller.
Yugo-Slavia—Bulgaria—Turkey: Topalovic (Sakasoff).

After the Hamburg Congress the provisional nominations of the Parties were ratified and the above-named elected as permanent members of the Executive.

Since the Hamburg Congress the following Party representatives have been added as members of the Executive:—in February, 1924, Peidl as Hungarian representative; in May, 1924, Besteiro as Spanish representative; in June, 1924, Bezpalko as representative of the Ukraine, and in March, 1925, Etchegoin as representative of the Argentine.

The number of cases in which members of the Executive, according to Article 15 of the Statutes, resigned because of their entry into a Ministry, was in the period of the Report larger than expected. The following members of the Executive became subject to this provision: Henderson, MacDonald, Thomas (Great Britain); Stauning (Denmark); Branting, Moeller (Sweden); Vandervelde (Belgium). When the British Labour Government was formed, the Administrative Committee was faced with the question whether the definition of Article 15 should also apply to the members of the Administrative Committee who were elected by the Executive, and to its officers, the Treasurer and Secretaries. The Administrative Committee were of the view, and this was confirmed by the Executive at their meeting in Luxemburg, that Article 15, "in the spirit of the constitution, applied not only to the members of the Executive, but also of the Administrative Committee." Owing to this interpretation, the member of the Administrative Committee, Webb, and the Treasurer, Gosling, withdrew. More difficult was the question with regard to the Secretary, Shaw, as here arose a question of appointment. (See page 92).

The regulation as to the resignation of Officers of the International on acceptance of Ministerial Office has met with varied criticism. Some think they see in it a sign of the International's weakness, since it dispenses with the help of leading comrades at the very moment when these come into power: others consider it a heavy drawback that the International should fail to avail itself of the advice of those very members who hold Cabinet office. In view of these differences of opinion, this Report can only express the view of the Secretariat that Article 15 of the Statutes has proved itself thoroughly to the point. At the preliminary drafting of the Statutes before the Hamburg Congress there had been also a suggestion of limiting this regulation to the extent that acceptance of Government Office should *not* entail resignation from the Executive of the L.S.I. in the case of an exclusive Labour Government. Experience has taught us that this formula would not have done justice to the fact. As it happens, we have during the period of the Report become acquainted with the type of Minority Government, which does indeed consist entirely of representatives of the working class, but cannot by any means rely solely upon working-class support. Thus, for this type of Minority

Government, exactly as for a Coalition Government, we must recognise that the attempt to combine government office with a share in the leadership of the International may be harmful for both sides. The cause of this lies in no weakness of the International, but rather in a weakness of the kind of Labour Government, which, under the present distribution of power between the classes, is the only possible form on democratic lines.

During the period of the Report, Comrades Cameron (England), Varandian (Armenia) and Troelstra (Holland), have resigned their offices on the Executive for reasons of health; also Voinea (Roumania), in consequence of removal to another country. As the result of the dissolution of the Group, Armenia—Poale-Zion, Kaplansky (Poale-Zion) forfeited his seat as Deputy Member; likewise, Vrbensky, on the lapse of the Socialist Union of Czecho-Slovakia from the L.S.I.

Comrade Troelstra communicated his resignation to the Executive in the following terms:—

DEAR COMRADES,

The bad state of my health obliges me to retire from active political life and also prevents me from continuing my activity on the Executive. I must therefore ask you to release me and to nominate another representative of the Dutch Party in my place.

I cannot say that it is easy for me to give up my work in the Labour and Socialist International. It was amongst my comrades there that I was serving the highest ideals of my life, and in spite of the disillusionments which time brings to all of us, I experienced amidst you much that was beautiful and lofty. I shall always remember with gratitude the faithfulness, goodwill and ability to serve International Socialism and the brotherhood of peoples which I found amongst you, although conditions in most countries do not yet permit of that energetic political action in the cause of peace which would render possible the permanent subordination of national efforts under International Socialism. I am convinced, however, that the Socialist Parties of the L.S.I. will recognise more and more the fight against Chauvinism and Nationalism as the most pressing necessity of the day and, by so doing, strengthen the importance of our International, and prepare the mobilisation of the working class which is indispensable for the prevention of further wars. In such noble efforts I shall always remain an enthusiastic co-operator even when I shall have lost my full powers for public work.

Thanking you for the friendly reception which I had amidst you, and with my best wishes to you all personally and to the International,

I remain,

Your faithful comrade,

TROELSTRA.

Scheveningen, 30th April, 1925.

The above letter was put before the Executive of the L.S.I. at Paris, and the following reply was then sent to Troelstra:—

DEAR COMRADE TROELSTRA,

With deep regret we heard that for reasons of health you have decided to resign your post in the International, which you have filled for many years as devotedly as you have worked for the interests of the Dutch Workers.

For many years now you have been not only the representative of Holland but the very embodiment of Dutch Social Democracy within the International, as well as one of the foremost representatives of Internationalism itself. Workers of all countries will always remember with gratitude your faithful and self-sacrificing service in the interests of the World's Workers.

To-day, when the Socialist proletariat is once again united in the ranks of the L.S.I., we remember with particular thankfulness your efforts for the maintenance of the International in the difficult years of the war. Though you will cease to belong to our Executive we hope that we may continue to count in the future on the aid of your experience and advice. May the lightning of the duties which you have performed so unselfishly tend to restore your health, so that for a long time to come you may witness the harvest which you yourself have sown. The cause of the Workers, to which you have devoted the strength and the work of your life, cannot fail to be victorious.

Paris, 10th May, 1925.

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE L.S.I.

The places of the members who had resigned from the Executive were filled as follows: In December, 1923, Pistiner (Roumania) in the place of Voinea; in January, 1924, Allen, Cameron, Cramp (Great Britain)

in place of Henderson, MacDonald, Thomas; in April, 1924, Andersen (Denmark) in place of Stauning; in October, 1924, Engberg and Lindstroem (Sweden) in place of Branting and Moeller; in February, 1925, Henderson (Great Britain) in place of Cameron; in March, 1925, Isahakianz (Armenia) in place of Varandian; in May, 1925, Vliegen (Holland) in place of Troelstra; in June, 1925, Van Roosbroeck (Belgium) in place of Vandervelde.

The Executive of the L.S.I. consists therefore at present of the following members:—

America: Berger, Hillquit.

Argentina: Etchegoin.

Armenia: Isahakianz.

Austria: Bauer, Skaret.

Belgium: De Brouckère, Van Roosbroeck.

Denmark: Andersen, Madsen.

Finland: Wiik.

France: Bracke, Longuet.

Georgia: Tseretelli.

Germany: Crispian, Hermann Mueller, Wels.

Great Britain: Allen, Cramp, Henderson.

Holland: Vliegen.

Hungary: Peidl.

Italy: Modigliani, Treves.

Norway: Nilssen.

Poland (P.S.P.): Diamand.

Roumania: Pistiner.

Russia: Abramowitch (S.D.P.), Suchomlin (S.R.).

Spain: Besteiro.

Sweden: Engberg, Lindstroem.

Czecho-Slovakia: Nemeč (Czech S.P.), Czech (German S.P.).

Ukraine: Bezpalko.

Yugo-Slavia—Bulgaria—Turkey: Topalovic (Yugo-Slavia) and Sakasoff (Bulgaria) alternately.

Latvia—Estonia: Zeelens (Latvia).

Poland, Indep. S.P.—Poland, German S.P.—Danzig: Drobner (Poland I.S.P.).

At the meeting of the Executive in Luxemburg it was resolved to grant to the International of Socialist Youth and to the International Socialist Women's Committee the right of having permanent consultative members on the Executive of the L.S.I. (See page 99).

In particular cases delegates of parties having no representation on the Executive, or party officers who wished to attend discussions in addition to the nominated delegates, were admitted in a consultative capacity or as visitors. The rule adopted in these cases according to the expressed decision of the Executive at its Vienna meeting, was:—

That in every case where comrades are admitted who are not voting members of the Executive, a special decision is necessary.

Under the observance of this rule the following non-members have attended the meetings of the Executive Committee in a consultative capacity as visitors:—

Luxemburg Meeting (February, 1924): Bezpalko (Ukraine), Dan (Russia, S.D.P.), Gillies (Great Britain), Meissner (Czecho-Slovakia, Czech S.P.), Stalinsky (Russia, S.R.P.).

Vienna Meeting (June, 1925): Bezpalko (Ukraine), Gillies (Great Britain), Karl Kautsky (Austria), Kunfi (Hungary, Vilagossag), Kutschin (Russia S.D.P.), Seitz (Austria), Soukup (Czecho-Slovakia, Czech S.P.), Topalovic (Yugo-Slavia).

London Meeting (September, 1924): Bernstein (Germany), Eekelers (Belgium), Gillies (Great Britain), Huysmans (Belgium), Isahakianz (Armenia), Kleerekoper (Holland), Schaper (Holland).

Brussels Meeting (January, 1925): Blum (France), Gillies (Great Britain), Stalinsky (Russia, S.R.P.).

Paris Meeting (May, 1925): Blum (France), Gillies (Great Britain), Jarblum (Palestine), Renaudel (France), Stalinsky (Russia, S.R.P.), Szende (Hungary, Vilagossag).

In addition, according to Article 19 of the Statutes the following have taken part in a consultative capacity in the Meetings of the Executive: Wallhead as member of the Administrative Committee in Luxemburg, as Treasurer in Vienna, London and Brussels, and Brailsford as member of the Administrative Committee in London.

The following Table gives particulars of the attendances at the Executive Meetings:—

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS:—

M = Member of the Executive. T = Treasurer.
D = Deputy Representative. C = Consultative Member.
A = Administrative Committee Member. — = Absent from the Meeting.
S = Secretary. X = At the time not a member of the Executive.

| NAME. | MEMBER. FROM TO | TOOK PART IN THE MEETINGS IN | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Hamb- burg, May, 1923. | Luxem- burg, Feb., 1924. | Vienna, June, 1924. | London, Sept., 1924. | Brussels, Jan., 1925. | Paris, May, 1925. |
| AMERICA. | | | | | | | |
| Berger .. | May, 1923 | M | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hil quit .. | May, 1923 | M | — | — | — | — | — |
| ARGENTINE. | | | | | | | |
| Etchegoin .. | Mar., 1925 | X | X | X | X | X | M |
| ARMENIA | | | | | | | |
| Varandian (T). .. | June, 1924 to Mar., 1925 | X | X | X | M | — | X |
| Isahakianz .. | Mar., 1925 | X | X | X | C | X | M |
| AUSTRIA. | | | | | | | |
| Bauer .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | — | M | M |
| Skaret .. | May, 1923 | M | — | M | — | — | — |
| Seitz (D) .. | .. | D | X | C | X | X | X |
| Kautsky (D) .. | .. | X | X | C | D | X | X |
| Richter, P. (D) .. | .. | D | X | X | X | X | X |
| BELGIUM. | | | | | | | |
| De Brouckère .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | — | M | M |
| Vandervelde .. | May, 1923 to | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| VanRoosbroeck .. | June, 1925 | X | X | X | D | X | X |
| CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. | | | | | | | |
| Nemec .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | — | — | — |
| Czech .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Soukup (D) .. | .. | X | X | C | D | D | D |
| Meissner .. | .. | X | C | X | X | X | X |
| Winter, L. (D) .. | .. | D | X | X | X | X | X |
| DENMARK. | | | | | | | |
| Stauning .. | May, 1923 to April, 1924 | M | M | X | X | X | X |
| Madsen .. | May, 1923 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Andersen .. | April, 1924 | C | C | M | — | M | M |
| FINLAND. | | | | | | | |
| Wiik .. | May, 1923 | M | — | — | — | — | — |
| FRANCE. | | | | | | | |
| Bracke .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Longuet .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Blum (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | X | X | C |
| Renaudel (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | X | X | C |
| Faure (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| GEORGIA. | | | | | | | |
| Tseretelli .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | M | M | M |

HJALMAR BRANTING.



Died on the 24th February, 1925.

| NAME. | MEMBER. FROM TO | TOOK PART IN THE MEETINGS IN | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Hamb- burg, May, 1923. | Luxem- burg, Feb., 1924. | Vienna, June, 1924. | London, Sept., 1924. | Brussels, Jan., 1925. | Paris, May, 1925. |
| GERMANY. | | | | | | | |
| Crispien .. | May, 1923 | M | M | — | M | M | M |
| Mueller .. | May, 1923 | M | — | — | — | — | M |
| Wels .. | May, 1923 | M | — | — | M | M | M |
| Braun, A. (D) .. | .. | X | D | X | X | X | X |
| Fischer, R. (D) .. | .. | X | X | D | X | X | X |
| GREAT BRITAIN. | | | | | | | |
| Henderson (2) .. | May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 Feb., 1925 | M | X | X | X | X | M |
| MacDonald .. | May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 | — | X | X | X | X | X |
| Thomas .. | May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 | — | X | X | X | X | X |
| Allen .. | May, 1923 | D | M | M | M | M | M |
| Cameron .. | Feb., 1924, to Feb., 1925 | X | — | — | M | M | X |
| Cramp .. | Feb., 1924 | X | M | M | M | X | M |
| Gosling .. | May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 | T | X | X | X | X | X |
| Wallhead .. | May, 1923 | — | A | T | T | T | — |
| Webb .. | May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 | D | X | X | X | X | X |
| Bell, Mrs. (D) .. | .. | X | D | D | — | — | — |
| Brailsford .. | .. | X | X | — | A | — | — |
| Buxton .. | .. | X | X | — | — | — | — |
| Wedgwood (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | X | D | X |
| Gillies (C) .. | .. | C | C | C | C | C | C |
| HOLLAND. | | | | | | | |
| Troelstra .. | May, 1923, to May, 1925 | M | — | — | — | — | X |
| Vliegen .. | May, 1925 | X | X | D | — | D | M |
| Wibaut (D) .. | .. | X | D | X | D | X | X |
| HUNGARY. | | | | | | | |
| Peidl .. | Feb., 1924 | X | M | M | — | M | — |
| Peyer (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | D | X | D |
| ITALY. | | | | | | | |
| Modigliani .. | May, 1923 | M | — | — | — | — | — |
| Treves .. | May, 1923 | — | — | — | — | — | M |
| Morgari (D) .. | .. | X | D | D | X | X | X |
| Levi (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | X | D | X |
| Rondani (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | D | X | X |
| Buozzi (D) .. | .. | X | X | D | X | X | X |
| NORWAY.—Nilssen . | | | | | | | |
| | May, 1923 | M | — | — | — | — | — |
| POLAND. | | | | | | | |
| Diamand .. | May, 1923 | — | M | M | — | — | — |
| Posner (D) .. | .. | D | X | X | X | X | X |
| Niedzialkowski(D) .. | .. | X | X | X | D | D | D |
| ROUMANIA. | | | | | | | |
| Voinea .. | May, 1923, to Dec., 1923 | — | X | X | X | X | X |
| Pistiner .. | Dec., 1923 | D | M | M | — | — | — |
| RUSSIA. | | | | | | | |
| Abramovitch .. | May, 1923 | M | M | M | M | — | M |
| Suchomlin .. | May, 1923 | M | M | — | M | M | M |
| Dan (D) .. | .. | X | C | X | X | D | X |
| Stalinsky (D) .. | .. | X | C | D | X | C | C |
| Kutschin .. | .. | X | X | C | X | X | X |

| NAME. | MEMBER. FROM TO | TOOK PART IN THE MEETINGS IN | | | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Hamb- burg, May, 1923. | Luxem- burg, Feb., 1924. | Vienna, June, 1924. | London, Sept., 1924. | Brussels, Jan., 1925. | Paris, May, 1925. |
| SPAIN. | | | | | | | |
| Besteiro .. | May, 1924 | X | X | — | — | — | — |
| Saborit (D) .. | May, 1924 | X | X | D | X | X | D |
| SWEDEN. | | | | | | | |
| Branting .. | May, 1923, to Oct., 1924 | M | M | — | — | X | X |
| Moeller .. | May, 1923, to Oct., 1924 | M | M | — | — | X | X |
| Engberg .. | Oct., 1924 | X | X | X | X | M | M |
| Lindstroem .. | Oct., 1924 | X | X | X | X | M | M |
| UKRAINE. | | | | | | | |
| Bezpalko .. | June, 1924 | X | C | C | M | M | M |
| Group : YUGO- SLAVIA, BULGARIA, TURKEY. | | | | | | | |
| Topalovic .. | May, 1923 | M | — | C | — | — | — |
| Sakasoff .. | May, 1923 | X | — | M | — | — | — |
| Group : LATVIA, ESTHONIA. | | | | | | | |
| Zeelens .. | May, 1923 | M | M | — | — | M | — |
| Morics (D) .. | .. | X | X | D | X | X | X |
| Martna .. | .. | X | X | X | X | C | X |
| Group : POLAND, GERMAN S.P. POLAND, I.S.P. DANZIG. | | | | | | | |
| Drobner .. | May, 1923 | M | — | — | — | M | — |
| Vrbensky .. | May, 1923, to Dec., 1924. | X | — | — | — | X | X |
| Bartosek (D) .. | .. | X | D | D | X | X | X |
| Kruk (D) .. | .. | X | X | X | D | X | D |
| Group : ARMENIA— POALE-ZION. | | | | | | | |
| Varandian (1) .. | May, 1923, to June, 1924 | — | M | Z | X | X | X |
| Kaplansky .. | May, 1923, to June., 1924 | M | — | M | X | X | X |
| SECRETARIES : | | | | | | | |
| Adler .. | May, 1923 | S | S | S | S | S | S |
| Shaw (3) .. | May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 Nov., 1924, to June, 1925 | S | X | X | X | S | S |
| WOMEN'S COMMITTEE | | | | | | | |
| Popp .. | Feb., 1924 | X | X | C | — | — | C |
| Phillips .. | Feb., 1924 | X | X | X | C | C | X |
| YOUTH INTERNATIONAL. | | | | | | | |
| Heinz .. | Feb., 1924 | X | X | C | — | C | — |

(1) Belonged to the Executive from May, 1923 until June, 1924, as representative of the Party Group Armenia—Poale-Zion, later as representative of Armenia.

(2) Did not belong to the Executive during his term of Government office from January, 1924, until his re-election, February, 1925.

(3) Did not belong to the Executive during his term of Government office from January, 1924, until November, 1924; resigned June, 1925.

To the meeting in Vienna the Swedish Party was not able to send representatives; it expressed a desire in writing that its voting rights might be transferred to the representative from Denmark. The Executive decided on the grounds of principle not to allow the exercise of the voting rights by the representative of another Party.

We now give a summary of the Meetings of the Executive since Hamburg and of their resolutions:—

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE IN HAMBURG,

ON THE 24TH AND 25TH MAY, 1923.

Chairman: Henderson.

On both the closing days of the Hamburg Congress the Executive held altogether four meetings, in which it formed itself, fixed the headquarters of the Secretariat, undertook the elections as provided by the statutes (of the Bureau, the Administrative Committee, the Treasurer and the Secretaries) and passed various resolutions on organisation.

Resolutions: See page 16 of the Resolutions of the Hamburg Congress.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE IN LUXEBURG,

ON THE 16TH AND 17TH FEBRUARY, 1924.

Chairman: Vandervelde.

- Agenda:
1. Secretariat's Report.
 2. Finances of the L.S.I.
 3. Secretariat and Administrative Committee.
 4. Relation to other international organisations.
 5. Anti-War Demonstration.
 6. The political situation.
 7. Questions concerning various countries.
 8. Organisation.
 9. Next Meeting of the Executive.

Resolutions:

Secretariat's Report: unanimously adopted.

Finances: Additional levy. (See page 102).

Secretariat: Leave of absence to Comrade Shaw. (See page 92)

—Discussion on the headquarters of the Secretariat postponed.

New Election of the Administrative Committee. (See page 81).

By-election of a Bureau member: In the place of Henderson, Cramp (England) was elected.

Relations to other international organisations. (See pages 97-100).

Anti-War Demonstration. (See page 74).

Political situation: Resolution on the political situation. (See page 28).

—Resolution on Russia. (See page 35).

—Resolution on Georgia. (See page 36).

—Resolution on Hungary. (See page 49).

—Resolution on Armenia. (See page 45).

Eight-Hour Day: Resolution. (See page 51).

Questions concerning various countries: Czecho-Slovakia. The Report of the Commission set up by the Hamburg Congress adopted. (See page 86).

—Balkan Countries: Calling of the First Socialist Balkan Conference. (See page 87).

—Russia: Setting up of committees for the defence of imprisoned Socialists in Russia. (See page 36). Preparation of a pamphlet on the conditions in Russia. (See page 36).

Organisation: Repartition of votes among the Parties in Czecho-Slovakia.

—Allocation of Congress votes to the S.P. of Spain.

—Affiliation of the S.P. of the Argentine and the Labour Union of British Guiana.

Representation of Russia in the Bureau of the L.S.I. (See page 78).

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE IN VIENNA,

ON THE 5TH, 6TH AND 7TH JUNE, 1924.

Chairman : Vandervelde.

Agenda : 1. Secretariat's Report.

2. Treasurer's Report.
3. The political situation.
4. Questions concerning various countries.
5. The Treaties of Guarantee.
6. The 60th Anniversary of the International.
7. Anti-War Demonstration.
8. The Eight-Hour Day.
9. The Secretariat of the L.S.I.
10. Organisation.
11. Next Meeting of the Executive and place of the International Congress.

Resolutions :

Visitors at the meetings of the Executive. (See page 67).

Transfer of Voting Rights. (See page 71).

Secretariat's Report : Unanimously adopted with an expression of thanks and confidence.

Finances of the L.S.I. : Additional levy for the second year. (See pages 102 and 103).

Political situation : The Executive passed a Communiqué, of which details will be found on pages 29, 36, 42 and 49.

Treaties of Guarantee. (See page 54).

Anti-War Demonstration : Guiding principles. (See page 74).

Dedication of a Flag of Honour to the Austrian workers. (See page 74).

Eight-Hour Day : Resolution. (See page 51).

Secretariat of the L.S.I. : The leave of absence to Comrade Shaw was extended.

—The question of transferring the Secretariat again postponed. (See page 90).

Organisation : New allocation of Congress votes to the Parties of Palestine, Armenia, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia. (See page 61).

—The request for admission by the " Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia—Provincial Organisation for Slovenia " was turned down.

International Congress. (See page 75).

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE IN LONDON,

ON THE 28TH, 29TH AND 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1924.

Chairman : Vandervelde, as Vice-Chairmen, Cramp and Wibaut.

Agenda : 1. The 60th Anniversary of the International.

2. Secretariat's Report.
3. The political situation.
4. The Secretariat of the L.S.I.
5. Questions concerning various countries.
6. Next Meeting of the Executive.

Resolutions :

60th Anniversary of the International : Manifesto. (See page 15).

Secretariat's Report : Adopted unanimously.

Political situation : Report by Vandervelde on the conditions in the Balkans adopted. (See page 42).

—Resolution on the rising in Georgia. (See page 36).

—Resolution on the prisoners in the Solovetzki Islands. (See page 36).

Secretariat of the L.S.I. : The question of the Secretariat referred to the Parties. (See page 91).

Eight-Hour Day. (See page 51).

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE IN BRUSSELS.

ON THE 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH JANUARY, 1925.

Chairman : Vandervelde.

Agenda : 1. Secretariat's Report.

2. Treasurer's Report.
3. Imperialism and Egypt.
4. The political situation.
5. Policy towards the Communist International and the Russian problem.
6. Questions concerning various countries.
7. The Inter-Parliamentary Union and kindred organisations.
8. By-election of a Bureau member.
9. The Secretariat of the L.S.I.
10. The International Congress.

Resolutions :

Secretariat's Report : Unanimously adopted.

Treasurer's Report : The financial year adjusted to the calendar year. (See page 103).

Imperialism and Egypt : Resolution. (See page 56).

Political situation : Report on Esthonia noted.

—Resolution on the Terror in Italy. (See page 49).

—Resolution on the Evacuation of the Occupied Territories. (See page 30).

Policy towards the Communist International and the Russian problem : By discussion in the Bureau (see page 80) previously dealt with and postponed.

Questions concerning various countries : Hungary. A Commission set up. (See page 87).

Inter-Parliamentary Union and kindred Organisations : (See pages 74 and 75).

By-election of a Bureau Member : In the place of Branting, Engberg (Sweden) was elected, and Andersen (Denmark) as deputy.

Secretariat of the L.S.I. : Resignation of Secretary Adler. (See page 92).

—Decision on the headquarters of the Secretariat was postponed until the International Congress.

International Congress. (See page 75).

Following the Meeting there took place, by invitation of the Belgian Party, a three days' journey of the Executive Members to inspect the institutions of the Belgian Labour Movement.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE IN PARIS,

ON THE 9TH AND 10TH MAY, 1925.

Chairman : Vandervelde.

Agenda : 1. Secretariat's Report.

2. The International Congress.
3. Security Pacts and Disarmament.
4. The political situation and questions concerning various countries.
5. The Eight-Hour Day.
6. Repartition of votes and Organisation.

Resolutions :

Secretariat's Report : Adopted.

The International Congress : Call, agenda, and provisional standing orders (See page 75). The determination of the place was left over to the Secretariat in consultation with the French Party.

International Socialist Women's Conference: Call. (See page 76).
 Agricultural Policy: A conference to be held. (See page 77).
 National Minorities: Setting up of a Commission of Inquiry. (See page 75).
 Socialists and Government Office: Parties asked to define their attitude. (See page 75).
 Security Pacts and Disarmament. (See page 55).
 Political situation: Resolution on Bulgaria. Calling of the Second Socialist Balkan Conference. (See page 43).
 Eight-Hour Day: Resolution. (See page 51).
 By-election of a Bureau Member: In the place of Troelstra, Vliegen (Holland) was elected.
 Repartition of votes: The proposals of the Secretariat are submitted to the Parties. (See page 61).
 Organisation: Affiliation of the S.P. of Portugal.

RESOLUTIONS ON ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS.

In addition to the resolutions, which are quoted elsewhere in this Report, the Executive has also passed the following resolutions on organisation and the conduct of business:—

ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION.

That this Executive decides to enter into consultation with the I.F.T.U. in order to secure, if possible, the transfer of the great international demonstration, which is to be arranged on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war, to the 27th July or the 3rd August.

(Passed in Luxemburg, February, 1924).

The Executive resolves to bring before the great masses of all peoples in every country this year, by means of a powerful demonstration, the remembrance of the World War, and the need of organised resistance against any new war, against armaments, and against those who instigate wars.

The demonstrations will begin on the date of the outbreak of war, which is also the date on which the dreadful murder took place which resulted in the death of the great and immortal pioneer of world-peace—Jean Jaurès.

On this date the L.S.I., together with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Youths' International, will issue a joint manifesto.

The demonstrations for world peace on the 21st September will mark another important event. The sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Labour International occurs also in September. The International organisation of the proletariat, which must be the chief instrument in our struggle for peace, will combine the celebration of its foundation with the demonstration for peace. The celebration of the foundation of the International in the various countries will culminate in a celebration in London, where the International was founded on the 28th September, 1864.

So as to make this year's demonstration as effective as possible, it is necessary that there should be full agreement, in each respective country, between the organisations affiliated to the L.S.I. and those affiliated to the I.F.T.U., concerning the carrying-out of the arrangements.

(Passed in Vienna, June, 1924).

DEDICATION TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS.

That this Executive, jointly with the I.F.T.U., shall confer upon the Austrian workers a Flag of Honour in gratitude for their most impressive reception.

(Passed in Vienna, June, 1924).

INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION.

That the Secretariat be commissioned to prepare a questionnaire to the Parties on their attitude to the Inter-Parliamentary Union and kindred organisations of an international character, and to submit the results to the next meeting of the Executive

(Passed in London, September, 1924).

That Comrades Engberg and Adler should each prepare a memorandum dealing with the reasons for and against Socialist co-operation in the Inter-Parliamentary Union and similar organisations.

(Passed in Brussels, January, 1925).

POLICY TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

That on the agenda of the next meeting of the Executive be placed the item: "Policy towards the Communist International and the Russian Problem," the Socialist Parties in the countries of the Soviet Union being called upon to formulate beforehand in writing their points of view. The detailed draft resolution submitted by Adler to be used for these deliberations.

(Passed in London, September, 1924).

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL MINORITIES.

That, for the preparatory discussion of the question of national minorities a commission of three be appointed, whose members will be nominated by the Administrative Committee, and who will hear members of Socialist Parties interested in this question as expert advisors.

(Passed in Paris, May, 1925).

SOCIALISTS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICE.

The Executive recalls that the Labour and Socialist International is an international organisation—newly established at the Hamburg Congress—and bound only by those decisions which the International itself has taken.

Under these circumstances there arises the necessity of determining anew the attitude of the L.S.I. towards the fundamental problems of the working class and above all the necessity of taking up a position with regard to changed conditions of the struggle. This big and difficult task can only be accomplished by degrees. As a step in this direction, the Executive decides to invite affiliated parties to submit, by writing, their points of view on the question of Socialist government in capitalist states, more especially in those countries where the Socialists have already participated in the government. If they have not already dealt with this question, Parties will do so at their national congresses. These memoranda will form the basis for the examination of the question in the international sphere by the L.S.I.

(Passed in Paris, May, 1925).

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, 1925.

That the International Congress falling due in 1925 be held in France.

(Passed in Vienna, June, 1924).

That the International Congress shall take place in August or September; the determination of the precise date to be left to the Administrative Committee; the agenda to be drawn up at the next Meeting of the Executive.

(Passed in Brussels, January, 1925).

CONVOCATION AND PROVISIONAL AGENDA.

In accordance with Article 6 of the Constitution, the Executive of the L.S.I. hereby convokes an International Congress for August 22nd, 1925, at Marseilles.

The Congress will open at 10 a.m. on August 22nd, at the *Palais des Expositions*, and will probably terminate on the evening of the 27th.

Participation.

The Parties affiliated to the L.S.I. are entitled to attend (Article 7 of the Constitution).

Number of Delegates.

In respect of the first Congress vote each Party is entitled to five delegates; in respect of every further Congress vote three delegates, the maximum number of delegates from any one Party being restricted to 50 (Article 8 of the Constitution).

In addition to the official delegates each Party is entitled to send fraternal delegates, who, however, will not be entitled to address the Congress or to vote. The number of fraternal delegates must not be greater than the number of official delegates.

Votes.

In accordance with Article 9 of the Constitution the Executive allots to each Party a definite number of votes.

Congress Fees.

Parties will pay for the admission cards of each delegate and each fraternal delegate (Article 23 of the Constitution). The fees will be graded so as to comply with the economic condition of different countries, and will be 25, 20 and 15 shillings respectively. Countries to be grouped under the following scale :—

25/- for each delegate from—

Argentina, Darzig, Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, Holland, Latvia, Norway, Palestine, Sweden, United States of America.

20/- for each delegate from—

Belgium, British Guiana, Esthonia, France, Germany, Luxemburg, Portugal, Roumania, Spain.

15/- for each delegate from—

Armenia, Austria, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine.

Agenda.

The provisional agenda drawn up by the Executive Committee is as follows :—

1. The International Labour and Socialist Peace Policy :—
 - (a) The Attitude of the L.S.I. towards the Problems of Security and Disarmament.
 - (b) Labour's Struggle against the Dangers of War.
2. Unemployment and the Conditions of Life of the Workers.
3. The Washington Convention and the Eight-Hour Day.
4. Report and Proposals of the Women's International Conference.
5. Organisation and Levy Scheme.
6. Miscellaneous Questions.

Resolutions.

Only affiliated Parties have the right to put down motions. These must be notified to the Secretariat by June 30th, 1925, at latest. Anything coming to hand after that date can only be dealt with at the discretion of the Congress itself.

Standing Orders.

The Chair will be taken by members of the Bureau of the L.S.I. in rotation, as arranged by the Executive.

The names of delegates wishing to *speak, motions and nominations* to the Commissions, must be handed to the Chair in writing.

Speakers to follow in the order in which they have applied.

The *time limit for speeches* will be : Rapporteurs, 40 minutes ; other speakers, 15 minutes ; on points of order, 5 minutes.

Voting to be by show of cards. But if 30 delegates representing at least five different countries, demand that a vote be taken by Congress strength, instead of by show of cards, their demand must be complied with (Article 9 of the Constitution).

Non-affiliated Parties.

Representatives of parties actually negotiating for affiliation to the L.S.I. may receive fraternal delegates cards by permission of the Executive.

Women's Conference.

An International Socialist Women's Conference will be held on 21st August, 1925, in Marseilles.

The agenda for the Conference will be arranged by the International Committee of Socialist Women. The Conference is limited to women belonging to Labour and Socialist Parties affiliated to the L.S.I.

All details will be announced later in the form of a special circular.

Informal Conference on Agricultural Policy.

During the International Congress an informal gathering will also be held for the purpose of discussing Agricultural Policy, and will be attended by the delegates who are particularly interested in this problem.

Announcements, Rooms, Visas, &c.

Announcements regarding the number of delegates and their names must be submitted by the 15th July, 1925, at the latest to :—

(a) The Secretariat of the L.S.I., 4 Great Smith Street, London, S.W. 1.

(b) The local Committee : Mr. Leon Bon, 42 Rue de la republique, Marseille (France).

All requests and queries regarding *hotels* to be addressed to the Local Committee, which will be responsible for accommodation.

All requests, &c., regarding *Congress business* to be addressed to the Secretariat of the L.S.I.

All communications referring to *passports, visas, &c.*, to be addressed to the Secretariat of the French Party (Paul Faure), 12 Rue Feydeau, Paris, 2e.

Cards for delegates and fraternal delegates will be distributed only from the Secretariat of the L.S.I. *Press tickets* will be distributed by the Local Committee only.

The Executive of the L.S.I. appeals to all affiliated Parties and to Labour organisations throughout the world to do all in their power to make the Congress a success that will testify to the growing strength of the Working Classes.

The International Congress of 1925 will be a powerful demonstration—

For the great aims of the Working Class : for ensuring Peace and the Eight-Hour Day !

Against the enemies of Labour and Progress ; against Capitalism and Fascist Reaction.

For Workers' International Unity, to be achieved within the ranks of the Labour and Socialist International !

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE
LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

(Adopted at Paris, May, 1925).

4. THE BUREAU OF THE L.S.I.

The Statutes make the following provisions with regard to the Bureau :—

The Executive Committee shall appoint nine of its members to form a Bureau which can be called together quickly on urgent matters and can deal with the necessary preparations for the full Executive meetings. These nine members should represent as many countries as possible but due regard should be paid to being able to get them together quickly. This Bureau shall report and be responsible to the Executive Committee. (Article 16).

When matters are to be discussed which concern a country which has not a direct representation on the Bureau the Administrative Committee shall invite a representative from that country to attend the meeting. (Article 17).

At the election of the Bureau the Executive in its meeting at Hamburg proceeded by first of all choosing the countries from which Bureau members should be elected. Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, were the nine countries elected. Besides these Finland was also proposed ; this motion was in a minority at the voting, which was carried out by ballot to cover all the proposals at once.

The Executive thereupon established that the individual members of the Bureau shall be elected personally as such by the Executive itself. The countries, from which the members of the Bureau are to be drawn, have a right of proposal ; nevertheless these proposals are not binding on the Executive. Should a member be prevented from attending, the Party to which he belongs can send a deputy.

At the election of the Bureau members the only difficulty which arose was over the representation of Russia, where two Parties with equal votes are represented in the Executive. The Executive passed the following resolution :—

That Comrade Abramowitch (Russia, S.D.L.P.) be provisionally elected as member of the Bureau, until the Executive, which is going into the whole question of Russia, can make a report on the subject. Only then can the Russian representative be definitely decided.

Until the definite ruling is made it was further decided to co-opt Comrade Suchomlin (Russia, S.R.P.) to every meeting of the Bureau, in a consultative capacity. The following were then unanimously elected to the Bureau :—

Abramowitch (Russia), Bauer (Austria), Bracke (France), Branting (Scandinavia), Henderson (England), Modigliani (Italy), Troelstra (Holland), Vandervelde (Belgium), Wels (Germany).

Owing to the withdrawal of Bureau members, a by-election became necessary three times during the period of the Report. The Executive elected at its meeting in Luxemburg (February, 1924) Cramp (England) in place of Henderson ; at its meeting in Brussels (January, 1925) Engberg (Scandinavia) in the place of Branting, and at its meeting in Paris (May, 1925) Vliegen (Holland) in place of Troelstra.

In order to meet the wishes of the countries not represented in the Bureau, it was decided in Hamburg, that for every meeting, use would be made of Article 17 of the Statutes in the sense that two representatives of the Parties, specially interested in the meeting concerned, would be invited in a consultative capacity. In pursuance of this decision Tseretelli (Georgia) attended the meetings of the Bureau at Brussels (July, 1923, and October, 1923).

The Meeting of the Bureau in Vienna (June, 1924) was called together, *ad hoc*, during the Executive Meeting, and the representatives of those Parties invited, who had requested an increase in their allotted number of Congress votes. Of these the following attended : Varandian (Armenia), Kaplansky (Palestine), Diamand (Poland), Bezpalko (Ukraine).

To the joint meeting of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. in Amsterdam (July, 1924) the following were invited : Nemec (Czecho-Slovakia, Czech S.P.) and Czech (Czecho-Slovakia, German S.P.) ; both were prevented from appearing.

At the meeting of the Bureau and of the ensuing joint meeting of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. in Brussels (January, 1925) all members of the Executive were granted the right to take part. A large number took advantage of the invitation.

The meeting of the Bureau in Paris (May, 1925) was once again called together, *ad hoc*, during the Executive sitting. Besides the Bureau members the following attended the meeting : Andersen (Denmark), Suchomlin (Russia, S.R.) and Adelheid Popp (International Socialist Women's Committee).

The Executive has repeatedly concerned itself with the representation of Russia in the Bureau, without any definite solution of the question having been arrived at. In the Luxemburg meeting the following resolution was passed :—

That Comrades Abramowitch (Russia, S.D.P.), Suchomlin (Russia, S.R.), and a third to be chosen by them shall submit to the next Executive Meeting a proposal concerning the representation of Russia on the Bureau.

The two comrades named agreed to ask Karl Kautsky to act as the third ; a definite report was as yet not possible.

At the meeting of the Executive in Luxemburg, Czech (Czecho-Slovakia, German S.P.) also put forward a proposal on the representation of the Parties of Czecho-Slovakia on the Bureau, which was to report on the matter. The question is not yet settled.

The following Table gives particulars of the attendances at the Bureau meetings :—

BUREAU.

| NAME. | MEMBER. FROM TO | TOOK PART IN THE MEETINGS IN | | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | | Brussels, July, 1923. | Brussels, Oct., 1923. | Vienna, June, 1924. | Amster- dam, July, 1924. | Brussels, Jan., 1925. | Paris, May, 1925. |
| AUSTRIA. Bauer .. | May, 1923 | — | — | M | — | M | M |
| BELGIUM. Vandervelde .. De Brouckere (D) .. | May, 1923 .. | M X | M X | — D | M C | M X | — X |
| FRANCE. Bracke .. Blum (D) .. Longuet (D) .. | May, 1923 | — D X | — X D | M X X | — D X | M C X | M X X |
| GERMANY. Wels .. Mueller (D) .. | May, 1923 | — X | M X | — X | — D | M X | — X |
| GREAT BRITAIN. Henderson .. Cramp .. Thomas (D) .. Allen (D) .. Bell (D) .. Cameron (D) .. Wedgwood (C) .. | May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 Feb., 1924 | M X X X X X X X | — X D X X X X X | X — X D X X X X | X — X X D X X X | X — X C X D C C | X — X X X X X X |
| HOLLAND. Troelstra .. Vliegen .. | May, 1923, to May, 1925 May, 1925 | M X | — X | — D | — D | — D | X — |
| ITALY. Modigliani .. Levi (D) .. | May, 1923 | — X | — X | — X | — X | — D | — X |
| RUSSIA. Abramowitsch .. Dan (D) .. Suchomlin (C) .. | May, 1923 | — X C | M X C | M X — | — X — | — D C | M X C |
| SCANDINAVIA. Branting .. Stauning (D) .. Engberg .. Andersen (D) .. | May, 1923 to Oct., 1924 .. Jan., 1925 .. | — — X X X | — — X D D | — — X X D | — — X X X | X X D C | X X M C |
| TREASURER. Wallhead (T) .. | .. | X | X | T | X | X | X |
| SECRETARIES. Adler .. Shaw .. | Nov., 1924, to June, 1925 May, 1923, to Jan., 1924 Nov., 1924, to June, 1925 | S S S | S S X | S X X | S X X | S S S | S S S |

For explanation of signs, see page 68.

In addition to those quoted in the Table, there were also present at the joint meeting of the Bureaus of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U., as representatives of the latter :—

At the Brussels meeting (October, 1923) : Jouhaux (France), Mertens (Belgium), Thomas (England—also on behalf of the L.S.I.). Oudegeest (Secretary).

At the Amsterdam meeting (July, 1924) : Purcell (England), Jouhaux (France), Leipart (Germany), Mertens (Belgium), and the Secretaries, Oudegeest, Sassenbach and Brown.

At the Brussels meeting (January, 1925) : Grassmann (Germany), Jouhaux (France), Mertens (Belgium), and the Secretaries, Oudegeest and Sassenbach.

We give in the following a short survey of the Bureau meetings and their resolutions :—

BUREAU MEETING IN BRUSSELS,

ON THE 11TH JULY, 1923.

Chairman : Henderson.

Agenda : The political situation in Western Europe, especially the situation in the Ruhr.

Resolution : Calling of a conference of the Parties directly interested in the Ruhr question. (See page 85).

JOINT MEETING OF THE BUREAUS OF THE L.S.I. AND THE I.F.T.U. IN BRUSSELS.

ON THE 3RD AND 4TH OCTOBER, 1923.

Chairman : Vandervelde (L.S.I.).

Agenda : The Reparations Question and the situation in Germany.

Resolution : See page 27.

After the end of the joint meeting the L.S.I. Bureau held a meeting of its own. Discussion was on the *political situation*, especially the position in Bulgaria, Russia, Georgia, Spain and Greece.

Resolution concerning Bulgaria. (See page 38).

MEETING OF THE BUREAU IN VIENNA,

ON THE 6TH JUNE, 1924.

During the Executive meeting in Vienna (from the 5th to the 7th June, 1924) an evening meeting of the Bureau took place, on the 6th June, to facilitate the Executive's work by a preliminary discussion on organisational questions.

Chairman : Adler.

The Bureau occupied itself exclusively with questions of *organisation*. Its resolutions were laid before the next session of the Executive and approved. (See page 61).

JOINT MEETING OF THE BUREAUS OF THE L.S.I. AND THE I.F.T.U. IN AMSTERDAM,

ON THE 14TH JULY, 1924.

Chairman : Purcell (I.F.T.U.).

Agenda : Attitude on the Experts' Report, and on the coming London Conference of Governments.

Resolution : See page 29.

MEETING OF THE BUREAU IN BRUSSELS,

ON THE 2ND AND 3RD JANUARY, 1925.

Chairman : Vandervelde.

The principal business was the consideration of special points on the agenda for the Executive meeting and for the joint meeting with the Executive of the I.F.T.U., especially the *Russian Question* and the attitude towards the *Geneva Protocol*.

JOINT MEETING OF THE BUREAUS OF THE L.S.I. AND THE I.F.T.U. IN BRUSSELS

ON THE 3RD AND 4TH JANUARY, 1925

Chairman : Vandervelde (L.S.I.).

Agenda : 1. The Geneva Protocol.

2. The Eight-Hour Day.

3. Night Work in Bakeries.

Before beginning the agenda Vandervelde made a statement in the name of the L.S.I. on the British Trade Union Delegation in Russia. (See page 37).

Resolutions :

Resolution on the Geneva Protocol. (See page 54).

Resolution on the Eight-Hour Day. (See page 52).

Resolution on Night Work in Bakeries. (See page 52).

MEETING OF THE BUREAU IN PARIS,

ON THE 9TH MAY, 1925.

During the meeting of the Executive in Paris (9th and 10th May, 1925) the Bureau once again held an evening session, in order, as commissioned by the Executive, to work out a definite proposal for the agenda for the International Congress.

Chairman : Adler.

The Bureau dealt exclusively with the *Agenda for the International Congress*. Its resolutions were accepted by the Executive. (See pages 75, 76 and 77).

5. THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE L.S.I.

Article 19 of the Statutes defines the composition of the Administrative Committee as follows :—

An Administrative Committee shall be appointed by the Executive consisting of the secretary or the secretaries, the treasurer, the members of the International Executive in the country in which the Secretariat is fixed and three members appointed by the Executive Committee. These latter must also reside in the same country.

In accordance with this the Administrative Committee was first constituted as follows :—The British Executive Members, Henderson, MacDonald and Thomas; the Administrative Committee members elected by the Executive in Hamburg, Allen, Wallhead, and Webb, the Treasurer, Gosling, and the Secretaries, Shaw and Adler. Henderson was elected to the chair.

Of the eight members of the Administrative Committee six entered the British Labour Government in January, 1924. In the place of Henderson, MacDonald and Thomas, there joined as English Executive Members, Allen, Cameron and Cramp; the Executive appointed Wallhead in place of Gosling as Treasurer, and had consequently to replace all the members of the Administrative Committee to be elected by it. In the Executive meeting in Luxemburg, February, 1924, were chosen : Mrs. Bell, Brailsford, C. R. Buxton, and as substitute, Morrison.

The Administrative Committee consisted therefore from February, 1924, of the following members —

Allen, Mrs. Bell, Brailsford, C. R. Buxton, Cramp (Chairman), Cameron, Wallhead (Treasurer), Adler (Secretary), Morrison (deputy).

In November, 1924, Comrade Shaw again took up his office as Secretary and consequently as a member of the Administrative Committee.

In February, 1925, Comrade Cameron relinquished his seat owing to illness. In his place the British section again elected Comrade Henderson as Executive member, and thereby member of the Administrative Committee. The Administrative Committee again entrusted the Chair to him.

The following Table gives particulars of attendances at Meetings of the Administrative Committee :—

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE.

| NAME. | MEMBER FROM TO | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | </ |
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For explanation of signs, see page 68.

The Administrative Committee has held altogether during the period of the Report 18 meetings. Below there is a short review :—

MEETING OF 13TH JUNE, 1923.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda :
1. Premises of the Secretariat.
 2. Party Fees.
 3. Czecho-Slovakian Commission.
 4. Delegation expenses.
 5. Relations with the Parties not yet affiliated.
 6. Staff of the Secretariat and preliminary estimates.
 7. Printing of the Proceedings of the Hamburg Congress.
 8. Bulletin.
 9. Communications of the German Party on the political situation.
 10. Miscellaneous. (Communications on Russia and Georgia).

MEETING OF THE 3RD JULY, 1923.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda :
1. Summoning of a Bureau meeting.
 2. Staff of the Secretariat.
 3. Miscellaneous.

MEETING OF THE 25TH SEPTEMBER, 1923.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda :
1. Report on the political situation.
 2. Summoning of a Bureau meeting.
 3. Comrade Shaw invited to Mexico.
 4. Treasurer's Report.

MEETING OF THE 14TH DECEMBER, 1923.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda :
1. Treasurer's Report.
 2. Summoning of an Executive meeting.
 3. Questions concerning various countries :
 - (a) Germany.
 - (b) Russia. (Fate of political prisoners).
 - (c) Czecho-Slovakia. (Report on the work of the Commission on Czecho-Slovakia.)

MEETING OF THE 17TH JANUARY, 1924.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda :
1. Report on the action taken on the resolutions of the last meeting. (Interview of Comrade Shaw with Rakovsky).
 2. Summoning of a Bureau or Executive meeting.
 3. Anti-war Demonstration.
 4. Treasurer's Report.

MEETING OF THE 26TH JANUARY, 1924.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda :
1. Summoning of an Executive meeting. (Preparation of provisional agenda).

MEETING OF THE 25TH FEBRUARY, 1924.

Chairman : Cramp.

- Agenda :
1. Election of a Chairman.
 2. Deputies for absent members.
 3. Payment of party fees.
 4. Joint work with the I.F.T.U.
 5. The reports of the English Party Press on the Executive meeting in Luxemburg.
 6. Questions concerning various countries :
 - (a) Italy. (English edition of Matteotti's book—"A Year of Fascist Rule").
 - (b) Austria.
 - (c) Hungary.
 7. Treaties of Guarantee.
 8. Miscellaneous.

MEETING OF THE 11TH APRIL, 1924.

Chairman : Cramp.

- Agenda : 1. Next Executive meeting.
2. Preparations for the 60th Anniversary of the International.
3. Relations with the I.F.T.U. and the International Co-operative Alliance.
4. Delegates to annual conferences.
5. Report on the Balkan Conference.
6. Treasurer's Report and preliminary estimates.
7. Premises of the Secretariat.
8. Questions concerning various countries. (France).

MEETING OF THE 13TH MAY, 1924.

Chairman : Cramp.

- Agenda : 1. Report on Annual Conferences.
2. Next meeting of the Executive. (Preparation of provisional agenda).
3. English edition of Matteotti's book.
4. May-Day Appeal.
5. Miscellaneous.

MEETING OF THE 24TH JUNE, 1924.

Chairman : Cramp.

- Agenda : 1. The murder of Matteotti.
2. The 60th Anniversary of the International.
3. Questions concerning various countries. (Norway).
4. Miscellaneous. (Flag of Honour for the Vienna Workers.—Complaints against the English Party Press).

MEETING OF THE 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1924.

Chairman : Cramp.

- Agenda : 1. The Anti-War Demonstration on 21st September.
2. The 60th Anniversary of the International on the 28th September.
3. Next Executive Meeting. (Agenda).
4. Questions concerning various countries :
(a) The Rising in Georgia.
(b) Russia. (The prisoners on the Solovetzki Islands).
(c) The situation in Bulgaria.

MEETING OF THE 21ST NOVEMBER, 1924.

Chairman : Allen.

- Agenda : 1. Representation of the L.S.I. at the Jaurès Commemoration.
2. Next Executive meeting. (Agenda).
3. Joint Deliberations with the I.F.T.U.
4. Questions concerning various countries :
(a) Russia.
(b) Germany.
5. Subscription rates of "International Information."

MEETING OF THE 3RD DECEMBER, 1924.

Chairman : Allen.

- Agenda : 1. The Anglo-Egyptian conflict.
2. Sickness insurance of the Secretariat Staff.

MEETING OF THE 4TH DECEMBER, 1924.

Chairman : Allen.

- Agenda : 1. The Anglo-Egyptian conflict.
2. Events in Esthonia.

MEETING OF THE 26TH FEBRUARY, 1925.

Chairman : Allen.

- Agenda : 1. Date of the next Executive Meeting.
2. Date and preparations for the International Congress.
3. Questions concerning various countries :
(a) Latvia.
(b) America.
(c) Pamphlet on Russia.
(d) Miscellaneous. (Correspondence with the I.F.T.U.—Premises of the Secretariat.—"International Information.")

MEETING OF THE 2ND APRIL, 1925.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda : 1. Revision of the date of the International Congress.
2. Next Executive meeting. (Place and agenda).
3. The Geneva Protocol.
4. May-Day Appeal.
5. Representation of the L.S.I. at the unveiling of the monument to Jules Guesde.
6. The financial position of the L.S.I.
Proposal for the reform of the levy system.
7. Miscellaneous. (Annual Conferences.—Contact with non-European Parties).

MEETING OF THE 25TH MAY, 1925.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda : 1. Resignation of Secretary Shaw.
2. International Congress. (Nomination of Rapporteurs and of the members of the Commission for the study of national minorities).
3. Second Socialist Balkan Conference. (Determination of date).
4. The Security Pacts.
5. Miscellaneous.

MEETING OF THE 26TH JUNE, 1925.

Chairman : Henderson.

- Agenda : 1. Summoning of a Bureau meeting
2. Events in China.
3. Preparations for International Congress.
4. Miscellaneous. (Changes on the Staff).

6. SPECIAL COMMISSIONS AND CONFERENCES.

CONFERENCE OF PARTIES ON THE RUHR QUESTION

AT EASTON LODGE, NEAR LONDON, 22ND JULY, 1923.

Present : Blum (France), Adolf Braun (Germany), Henderson, MacDonald (Great Britain), Vandervelde (Belgium), Shaw (Secretary).

The Italian Party excused the absence of their delegate on the ground of passport difficulty.

In the Chair : Henderson.

The purpose of the Conference was an exchange of information between the Parties specially interested in the Ruhr Question, and the consideration of steps to be taken in common. The representatives of the various Parties reported in detail on the situation in their countries.

The Conference resolved :

In view of the exchange of Notes and opinions between the Allied Governments on the Occupation of the Ruhr and on the questions connected therewith, to despatch Comrade Tom Shaw to the Ruhr in order that he might report what steps could be taken towards a satisfactory solution of the difficulties.

Comrade Shaw received instructions to inform the representatives of the Party and of the unions in the Ruhr as to the action taken by the International and by the Socialist Parties for the help of the workers in the Ruhr, and to hear their wishes. (For Report of this tour, see page 21).

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CZECHO-SLOVAKIA,
IN PRAGUE, 25TH AND 26TH OCTOBER, 1923.

The Commission set up by the Hamburg Congress for inquiry into the conflicts between the Socialist Parties of Czecho-Slovakia met in Prague on the 25th October, 1923.

Present: The members nominated by the Executive of the L.S.I., namely, Buxton (Great Britain), Graber (Switzerland), Huysmans (Belgium), also Shaw (Secretary), de Brouckère (Belgium), and Bauer (Austria) as spokesmen respectively for the Czecho-Slovakian and for the German Socialist Party in Czecho-Slovakia.

The I.F.T.U. excused the absence of their representatives on the ground that their leading officers were engaged at the International Labour Conference.

Huysmans was elected to the Chair.

After a short discussion on the duties of the Commission the representatives of all the Socialist Parties of Czecho-Slovakia were received. The Chairman referred to the resolution of the Hamburg Congress and emphasised that the Commission had not come to deliver a verdict, but to help towards mutual understanding.

Thereupon the representatives of the various Parties expressed their points of view in speeches and replies. Dr. Czech spoke for the German Socialist Party, Dr. Winter and Dr. Meissner for the Czech Socialist Party, Brodecky for the Socialist Union, Kwietniowski, for the Polish Socialist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, Mayer for the Hungarian Socialists in Czecho-Slovakia, and Picha for the Socialist Party in Carpathian Russia. After hearing the representatives, the Commission, after a short debate, submitted several proposals to the Parties.

The session was then suspended and the Parties entered into direct pourparlers with each other. As a result of these negotiations the representatives of the Czech and of the German Socialist Parties submitted the following joint proposal:—

In consequence of the negotiations directed by the Commission appointed by the Hamburg Congress the two Parties agree to the following Resolution:—

Both Parties are of the opinion that the organisational fusion of the Socialist Parties in Czecho-Slovakia and the agreement of the Parties to a joint policy is, for the time being, impossible. But both Parties believe it to be their duty to make the necessary preliminaries in order to prepare for such an agreement.

Therefore both Parties agree to the proposal of the Hamburg Commission to appoint a Commission composed of representatives of all such Socialist Parties in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic as are affiliated to the L.S.I.

This Commission should be empowered to examine in detail the questions at issue between the Parties.

The International Commission took note of the joint proposal by the two Parties and expressed the wish to be kept informed of the progress of negotiation.

The Commission gave a report to the Executive of the L.S.I., which the latter at its meeting in Luxemburg approved in the annexed resolution:—

(1) The Executive notes the results of the Commission.

(2) The Executive will follow the course of events in Czecho-Slovakia, and when, at some future date, whether by social struggles, or as a result of international events, the workers of the different nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia are drawn together within a united front, the Executive will take the initiative in also uniting the organisations of the Socialist Parties in Czecho-Slovakia.

FIRST BALKAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE,
IN BUCHAREST, ON 11TH, 12TH AND 13TH MARCH, 1924.

In accordance with the resolution of the Executive of the L.S.I. in Luxemburg, a Conference of the Socialist Parties of the Balkans met on the 11th March, at Bucharest.

Present: On behalf of the Executive of the L.S.I., Adler and Tseretelli; representing the Socialist Party of Bulgaria, Sakasoff, Assen Tsankoff, and Neikoff; representing the Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia, Divac and Dr. Topalovic; representing the Federation of the Roumanian Socialist Parties, Flueras, Moscovici, and Dr. Pistiner.

Agenda: 1. The policy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and
2. The danger of war in the Balkans.

Resolutions:

Declaration of the Bulgarian Delegation. (See page 40).

Report to the Executive of the L.S.I. on the danger of war in the Balkans. (See page 41).

SECOND BALKAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE,
IN PRAGUE, 12TH JUNE, 1925.

By resolution of the Executive of the L.S.I. in Paris, the Second Balkan Socialist Conference was summoned at Prague, on the 12th June, 1925.

Present: The members of the Commission set up by the Executive of the L.S.I., De Brouckère (in place of Vandervelde, prevented from attending), Shaw and Adler; representing the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Sakasoff, Pastuchoff, Neikoff; representing the Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia, Dr. Topalovic and Korun; representing the Socialist Party of Greece, Yannios; together with representatives of other Parties affiliated to the L.S.I. as fraternal delegates.

In the Chair: Shaw.

Agenda: 1. Events in Bulgaria.
2. The general position in the Balkans.

In the course of discussions on the situation in Bulgaria, the International Commission, in addition to full reports from delegates of the affiliated Parties, received also written statements from outside bodies and organisations—especially the Communist *Red Aid*, and the foreign delegation of the Bulgarian Peasants' Party (Oboff).

Resolutions: See the report of the International Commission, page 43.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR HUNGARY,
IN VIENNA, ON THE 26TH AND 27TH JANUARY, 1925.

At its session in Brussels (January, 1925), the Executive of the L.S.I. resolved to appoint a Commission which should offer its services to the Socialist Party of Hungary for the settlement of the difficulties arising from the publication of the Pact which the leaders of the Party had concluded in 1921 with the Bethlen Government. The Commission met on the 26th January, in Vienna.

Present: The nominees of the Executive, Shaw (Secretary), and de Brouckère (Belgium); as spokesman of the Hungarian Socialists, Karl Kautsky; as spokesman for the opposition groups, Otto Bauer; also Adler (Secretary). The Hungarian Socialist Party were represented by ten, the Opposition by three, and the Emigrants by four representatives.

In the Chair: Shaw.

On the results of the Conference the Commission made the annexed report to the Executive of the L.S.I. :—

The fatal Bolshevik adventure into which Hungary was precipitated in 1919 brought with it tragic consequences for the Hungarian working class. For the past five years the Hungarian workers have been subject to the dictatorship of a counter-revolutionary terror.

In 1921 the situation was still bad. The most capable comrades of the movement had emigrated. In the country itself there were thousands in prison and in internment camps, while unlimited police tyranny made it impossible for the rest to accept any function in the Labour Movement. The Trade Unions became quite paralysed. With their hands tied, the working class were defenceless against exploitation.

Count Bethlen, head of the Hungarian Government, took advantage of this state of affairs shamelessly to blackmail the Executive of the Social Democratic Party. He offered to liberate part of the imprisoned and interned, and to restore certain freedom of action to the industrial Trade Unions, subject to the Party accepting obligations which, as Count Bethlen well knew, violated the principles and morals of the International Labour and Socialist Movement.

Under such pressure the Party leaders were in a horrible dilemma. On the one hand there was the pressure exerted by thousands of women daily beseeching them for the liberation of their men-folk from the prisons and internment camps, the pressure of the workers—victims of police terror and the consideration of their duty towards the masses now deprived of all protection on account of the complete paralysis of all the workers' organisations. On the other hand was the knowledge that not a Labour Party in the world would be able to fulfil the obligations of a pact so degrading as that which Count Bethlen was endeavouring to conclude with them.

Placed before such a horrible choice the Hungarian Party administration decided to accept the pact thus forced upon them. This sacrifice of intellectual and moral sense was made, not only in order to free hundreds of comrades from prisons and internment camps, but above all for the purpose of abating the terrorism at least to such an extent that the proletarian organisations might be reconstructed and might be able to resume their activities in the interests of the workers. In this way the party hoped to gain a breathing space during which the working classes could regain strength sufficient to go on fighting against the counter-revolution with renewed vigour.

It was not the duty of the Commission to judge whether the Party acted rightly or wrongly in deciding to place the workers' interests in the recovery of freedom of action before political and moral considerations, which would not permit acceptances of the pact. Neither was it for the Commission to decide whether, the Party might not have gained freedom for some of the prisoners and abatement of police oppression without such heavy political and moral sacrifice, in view of the fact that, in the period after Karl Hapsburg's second attempt at a *coup d'état*, and as a result thereof the monarchist and fascist wings of Hungarian counter-revolution were at open war. One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Party Executive acted bona fide in the firm belief that they were in a position where there was no other method left to obtain liberation of the workers from insupportable oppression.

It is indisputable that the mitigation of police oppression which followed the pact resulted in an early and significant strengthening of the Hungarian Labour Movement. It is also certain that in the years which followed the Hungarian Party leaders made efforts to free themselves from the fetters imposed upon them by the pact. Quite rightly they considered themselves just as little bound to honour a pact born of infamous oppression as apparently did the Bethlen government which, on repeated occasions, grossly dishonoured the obligations accepted by them. From 1922 the Party leaders openly acted in opposition to a number of the stipulations, and in 1924 they eventually published the text of the pact, thereby openly showing that they regarded the secret pact imposed upon them by Bethlen as being at an end.

Nevertheless, one can understand that the conclusion of a pact so thoroughly in contradiction in its contents and form to all the traditions of the International Labour Movement would cause opposition in the Party. The policy of the Hungarian Party, which, during the reign of the counter-revolution had lost some of its most experienced leaders, condemned to live abroad, and found itself compelled to struggle under the most oppressive and different circumstances, was necessarily exposed on many sides to attacks from the Opposition.

It is due to the state of exasperation to which the Hungarian proletariat has been reduced by the White Terror that the Opposition has not always been content with impersonal criticism of the Party's policy, but has occasionally indulged in strong personal attacks, without sufficient consideration of the difficulties with which the persons attacked had to cope.

These attacks caused the Party Executive to consider the question of expelling certain members of the Opposition. Even after the decision of the Executive in Brussels two comrades were expelled, though it is true that the question of their expulsion had been under consideration for a long time before the Brussels meeting.

These internal difficulties of the Party, with the dangers bound up with them, made the relations between the Party Executive and the section of the "Emigrants" still sharper. The Party Executive complains of the unfriendly attitude of the "Emigrants." The "Emigrants" complain of the insufficient information given to them by the Party Executive.

The Commission, however, emphatically called upon the Hungarian comrades to avoid anything that could injure the unity of the Party. The experience of many countries has shown that a split in a Party has much more serious consequences for the future of the workers than even a serious mistake made by united Party. In Hungary, where the workers have to fight a much more difficult battle than in other countries, a split of the Party would be a crime against the workers—a crime that would jeopardise the future of the workers and would be quite unjustifiable.

The Commission noted with satisfaction that the Hungarian comrades fully recognised this fact.

On their own initiative the following declarations were made :

The delegates of the *Hungarian Party Executive* declare—

(1) That the Hungarian Party Executive has not for a considerable time held itself bound by the arrangement made under the pressure of circumstances with the Bethlen Government in the year 1921.

(2) The Hungarian Party Executive recognises the right of every member of the Party to criticism which is not in the nature of personalities. The Executive will not attempt to expel any member on the ground of holding opposite views from the Executive, so long as these views are expressed in impersonal criticism, and not in personal calumnies of individual comrades or in deeds of personal violence. The Party Executive naturally cannot agree to the formation of a separate opposition party inside the Party. But the Executive does not look upon exchanges of views between comrades who are in opposition to the policy of the Executive as a separate organisation.

(3) The Hungarian Party Executive will as soon as possible call the yearly Congress of the Party, and it proposes to bring to an end at this Congress all quarrels that exist in the Party by means of action that will reconcile the different points of view inside the Party.

(4) The Hungarian Party Executive decided long ago to submit to the next Congress of the Party suggestions for changes in the rules of the Organisation. The Executive will, however, in addition recommend that in the election of delegates to the next Congress the Organisations should act as far as possible in a democratic way, wherever the present situation in Hungary renders that possible.

The representatives of the *Opposition* declare :

We stand by the Party's programme and constitution. We accept the decisions of the majority of the Party organisations as binding upon ourselves and do not intend to form an organised opposition group within the Hungarian Party. We reserve to ourselves, however, the fullest right to criticise the policy of the Party's Executive, and to propagate our views within the ranks of the Party. We shall exercise our criticisms impersonally without bitterness and in such a way as to avoid endangering unity and comradeship within the Party.

The delegates of the "*Világosság*" group of emigrants made the following declaration :

We look upon the maintenance of the unity of the Hungarian Social-Democracy as the living interest of the Hungarian proletariat. Without giving up the right to free criticism in the Hungarian Party, we shall, so far as it concerns us, do everything to strengthen that unity and not to injure it.

The delegate of the *Garami-Buchinger emigrants' group* made the following declaration :

We hold it to be the first duty of the Social Democrats who are living in other countries to aid the Party, which is struggling in Hungary under the most difficult conditions, in its efforts to consolidate the Hungarian Labour Movement, and to make every effort to maintain the unity of the Party. We shall, without relinquishing the right of criticism, continue as before to work in this spirit.

The Commission hopes that these declarations made by all Parties in all loyalty and goodwill, will make it easier to clear out of the way the tendencies and difficulties which have arisen in the Hungarian Social-Democratic Movement through the conditions existing during the counter-revolution.

Signed at Vienna on 27th January, 1925, by the Commission appointed by the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International.

TOM SHAW.

K. KAUTSKY.

L. DE BROUCKÈRE.

OTTO BAUER.

7. THE SECRETARIAT OF THE L.S.I.

The Statutes of the L.S.I. say :—

The Executive Committee shall decide the country where the Secretariat shall be and appoint either one or more secretaries and a treasurer. (Article 18.)

In the Hamburg meeting, accordingly, there was first settled the place in which the Secretariat should have its headquarters. First of all, in connection therewith were considered the places in which the organisations in course of fusion had had their headquarters, namely, London and Vienna. A further proposal yet was made to move the Secretariat to Switzerland, but in the course of discussion this was withdrawn. It was then agreed to take a preliminary vote on both proposals, London and Vienna, and further, a determining vote on the proposal securing a majority. In the first vote 128 were for London and 87 for Vienna. In the second vote London was unanimously chosen.

When the British Labour Government was formed, and two-thirds of the members of the Administrative Committee withdrew, and all leaders of the English working class became quite extraordinarily taken up with the new heavy tasks in their own country, there arose anew the question of the headquarters of the Secretariat. In addition to the idea of a provisional transfer, discussion was directed towards a definite removal to the Continent by those Parties who want an altogether more central position for the Secretariat. The English representatives at these discussions repeatedly asserted that they regarded it as an honour for the British Labour Movement that the Secretariat of the International should lodge in their country, and that they wanted it to remain in London, but that as hosts they of course did not wish to influence comrades of other countries in their decisions.

In Luxemburg (February, 1924) this question was discussed by the Commission which had to report on proposals for the new election of the Administrative Committee. In the name of the Commission, Vandervelde reported to the Executive that they had arrived at complete understanding with the English delegation in the proposal that the question of the headquarters of the Secretariat should be put down for discussion at the next meeting of the Executive. The Executive agreed unanimously to this proposal.

In the ensuing meeting of the Executive in Vienna, after an exhaustive debate, the following motion was accepted :—

To postpone once more the question of the removal of the Secretariat, this question to figure as the first item on the agenda for the next Executive meeting.

In accordance with this resolution the question was again discussed at the meeting of the Executive in London (September, 1924). The Executive decided :—

To report the discussion on this question to affiliated Parties and to ask them to communicate their points of view, if possible, before the next Executive meeting, when a definite decision will be taken.

The replies of the Parties were laid before the Executive at its next meeting in Brussels (January, 1925). After a lengthy discussion a vote was taken to test the feeling as between the alternatives, London or the Continent, and resulted in an equal vote, 82 votes being cast in favour and 82 against. Thereupon the Executive resolved

To postpone the definite decision until the International Congress which will take place in the summer.

In London the Secretariat was at first lodged jointly with the International Secretariat of the Textile Workers at 25 Victoria Street, with totally inadequate premises. In July, 1924, it moved to 4, Great Smith Street, but it was still impossible to think of transferring the remaining records of the Second International which remain stored in Brussels, or indeed of setting up any record department worthy of the International and appropriate to its aims—a drawback most keenly felt by the Secretariat itself. In March, 1925, larger office premises in the same house were rented, which, with the present scope of the Secretariat's work, are sufficient for its needs. The transfer of the records at Brussels will be carried out only after the final decision as to the headquarters of the Secretariat.

In Hamburg the Executive elected Harry Gosling as Treasurer and Friedrich Adler and Tom Shaw as joint Secretaries. Regarding Adler's appointment, the following correspondence passed between the Austrian delegation to the Hamburg Congress and the Executive. The Austrian delegation addressed to the Executive the annexed letter :—

HAMBURG,

25th May, 1923.

DEAR COMRADES,

The Delegation of the Socialist Labour Party of Austria has received notification of the unanimous decision of the Executive of the L.S.I., by which the position of a joint Secretary of the L.S.I. is offered to Comrade Friedrich Adler. Though this appointment is an honour for Comrade Adler and for the whole Austrian Party, yet it entails great personal sacrifice to himself and great political sacrifice for our Party. Nevertheless, recognising the extremely difficult position of the International Labour Movement, we have resolved to recommend our Executive to allow Comrade Adler to accept this position provisionally for six months; this on condition that the exact terms of the negotiation to be carried on between Comrade Adler and the Administrative Committee of the L.S.I. shall be notified to our Executive before the final acceptance, and that the latter shall reserve the right to an opinion as to any details, according to the necessities of the Austrian Labour Movement. Further, it will be necessary that at the end of the six months any subsequent arrangements shall be the subject of a fresh consideration and decision by the Executive of the L.S.I.

Thanking you once again for the confidence shown to our Party,

We remain, yours fraternally,

(Signed) FERDINAND SKARET,

Secretary to the Austrian Delegation.

The Executive's answer was as follows :—

25th May, 1925.

DEAR COMRADE,

I am desired by the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. to say that your letter of the 24th May, 1923, was read at their meeting last night, and a resolution was adopted unanimously that the terms of the letter should be entered on the Minutes of the Executive; that we thank the Austrian comrades for their statement, and that we accept the terms laid down by them.

Yours fraternally,

TOM SHAW.

As a result of the entry of Comrades Shaw and Gosling into the British Labour Government, the Executive at their meeting in Luxemburg (February, 1924) had to deal afresh with staff matters. In place of Gosling, R. C. Wallhead was elected Treasurer. Comrade Shaw had addressed a letter to the Executive, asking for leave of absence on account of his appointment to the Ministry, or alternatively, tendered his resignation. The Executive decided:—

... to grant Comrade Shaw unpaid leave of absence until a further decision be taken on the matter at the next Executive meeting.

At the meeting in Vienna the Executive extended Comrade Shaw's leave of absence. Thus from January to November, 1924, Comrade Adler attended to the Secretarial duties alone. After the resignation of the British Labour Government, Comrade Shaw returned to his post in the Secretariat in November, 1924.

As early as the Executive meeting in Vienna, June, 1924, Comrade Adler had recalled the fact that in Hamburg, by agreement with the Austrian delegation, he had undertaken the post of Secretary provisionally for six months only. Comrade Shaw's absence obviously necessitated an extension of this term; however, Comrade Adler declared that on account of his personal difficulties he could not retain the office beyond Comrade Shaw's return. Accordingly, he submitted to the Executive at its meeting in Brussels the following request to be relieved of his duties:—

DEAR COMRADES,

As you know, I accepted the position of Secretary to the L.S.I. at the end of May, 1923, provisionally for six months, as the result of an agreement with my own Party. When the six months were up resignation was out of the question, seeing that Comrade Shaw had taken office in the Labour Government, and therefore I continued the work of International Secretary much longer than I originally intended.

At the Executive Meeting in Vienna last June I stated that, though the position entailed exceptional personal sacrifices (on account of illness in my family I was unable to make a permanent home in London), I would, of course, remain as long as necessary, but contemplated resigning when Comrade Shaw would again be free to resume work at the Secretariat.

In accordance with that statement I now request you to release me from my post as Secretary of the L.S.I. at the end of March, 1925.

Family matters apart, I believe that my request is justified on political grounds, and that my resignation does not constitute an act of desertion, but the termination of a concrete mission. My love for the solution of organisational problems will not allow me to hide the fact that the basis of my organisational activity is founded on a wider conception. It is to be expected that certain enemies of our International will endeavour to find arguments against the International through my resignation of the Secretaryship. It may therefore be opportune briefly to state the considerations which actuated me in accepting the position and in resigning.

It is obvious that my resignation will not entail any change in my attitude towards the International, and that I have always been guided by the same motives. I think that my chief duty lies in the propagation of the ideas and methods of Marxism in the ranks of the Labour Movement. From the Marxian point of view, I consider that the collapse of the International through the policy of various Socialist parties during the war was one of the gravest of calamities. I never was one of those who adopted the superficial excuse that all the evil was the result of treachery on the part of the leaders. I am proud to say that, on the contrary, from the moment of taking a position in this connection (in the beginning of August, 1914) I adopted the view that the grave problem lay in the orientation of the masses which fell a prey to warlike feelings. And that is why I never saw in the method of amputation a means for better development of the workers' movement, but always tried to concentrate the proletarian forces. I was convinced that only in one united International could the maximum of efficiency be allied to the minimum of effort by introducing the Marxian idea and the application of Marxian methods into the workers' movement. From the Marxian point of view I believe the reconstruction of the International to be the supreme task. In order to help fulfil it I accepted the post of Secretary.

The first piece of work was the establishment of the organic construction. This could only be achieved by the representatives of both the groups which amalgamated at Hamburg. The development of this organic construction succeeded far better than we had expected. The line of demarcation between the two International groups no longer exists, and therefore, with a clear conscience, I can leave it to other comrades to continue. Though it is not easy for me to relinquish this kind of work, it seems to me that other work in the international sphere is still more important for people of my bent.

Marxists form a minority in the Labour Movement. Considerable masses of workers (in the first place the great majority of the British comrades) have not yet had an opportunity of seriously examining the Marxist doctrine. In more than one Party, and I might mention German Social Democracy, war disturbances and the post-war difficulties in maintaining the republic led to a vulgar form of democracy. Marxism is receding in the Labour Movement. This state of affairs is, in no small degree, due to the Bolsheviks, who, though having the name of Marx on their lips, are advancing further and further on the road of adventurous Bakuninism. The fact that Bolsheviks cease to speak of Marxism, referring instead to Leninism, is a significant indication in this respect.

Marxists form a minority in the International, and they themselves should remain cognisant of the fact, for thus will they keep in mind the tasks which they have to achieve. Contrary to the so-called Communists, they can point to the "Communist manifesto," stating that "they are not a party outside the other workers' parties."

Not in isolation, but rather in the rapid current of the workers' movement within the organisation of the L.S.I. can the fight for Marxism be waged.

I was never party to the idea that we can divide parties into good and bad, and that the good ought to be united in one international body. Both tendencies are represented within any true mass party. All who close their eyes to this fact tend to the Bolshevik absurdity of forming small groups of conspirators and reducing mass parties to small sects. Therefore, one of the paramount tasks of Marxists is to beware of schisms, and that is why we have directed our best efforts towards reconstruction of the International organisation. But within the reconstructed International we must propagate the doctrine and methods of Marx. Indeed, now that the organisation is safe that seems to me to be the imperative task. The body is safe, and we must develop the spirit. We must maintain and perfect the International as an institution, but, in addition, we have to fulfil our duty as a minority—the duty of Marxists within the International.

The situation in which Marxists are placed should at least be comprehended by those good but wrongly inspired people who always want to overstep the mark and completely destroy the International because the Marxists have not immediately got the majority.

I am convinced that the International will quite understand that I shall do my best, whether Secretary or not, always to represent the interests of the movement, and that I shall always be at the disposal of the International should I be wanted for any sort of work.

(Signed) FRIEDRICH ADLER.

A number of delegates expressed themselves against acceptance of Adler's resignation, and Wels (Germany) having proposed that Adler should carry on his function, at any rate until the next International Congress, the President, Vandervelde, expressed the confidence of the entire Executive in Adler and added that, while the Executive quite recognised his personal difficulties, they would request him to retain his office for the time being, especially in order to prepare for the forthcoming Congress. Thereupon Adler declared himself prepared to fall in with the wish of the Executive and to postpone his resignation until the next Congress.

On May 15th, 1925, Comrade Tom Shaw addressed the following letter to the members of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I.:—

DEAR COMRADE,

I regret to have to tender my resignation as one of the Joint Secretaries of the Labour and Socialist International. I have decided, after much consideration, to return to the Secretaryship of the International Textile Workers, and have agreed with the International Committee of that body again to take up the work.

That will, however, not prevent me from taking as active a part as possible in the International Movement, and I heartily thank all our comrades for the invariable courtesy that has been extended to me whilst Secretary of the International.

(Signed) TOM SHAW.

At its meeting of the 25th May, the Administrative Committee dealt with this resignation. Comrade Shaw expressed the desire to be relieved from his duties in the Secretariat at the end of June, as he would then be obliged to take up his new office as Secretary of the International Textile Workers, and the transfer of this office to London and the necessary reorganisation would take all his time. The Administrative Committee complied with the desire of Comrade Shaw, but requested him to attend the conferences arranged for the month of June and also to attend the International Congress at Marseilles, at which Congress he is to act as *rapporteur*. The Chairman, Comrade Henderson, on behalf of the Administrative Committee, addressed the following letter to Comrade Shaw :—

MY DEAR SHAW,

The Administrative Committee of the International had the very regrettable duty this morning of receiving your resignation as one of the Joint Secretaries. In reluctantly accepting your resignation the members requested me, as their Chairman, to inform you that they had heard with great satisfaction that you had agreed to renew your connection with the International Textile Workers' Federation as their Secretary.

In the name of the whole International I would ask you to believe that we will always remember the devotion with which you served the International Socialist Movement, and we are delighted to know that when you commence your new duties at the end of June you will continue to be a working member of the international fellowship.

Assuring you of the best wishes of all for whom we are entitled to speak in the International Movement, I remain

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ARTHUR HENDERSON.

As Comrade Friedrich Adler declared himself willing to carry on the work of the Secretariat till the Congress and so long as it would be necessary after the Congress to assure the continuity of the work, the Administrative Committee decided that the question of appointments to the Secretariat should be put on the agenda of the next ordinary meeting of the Executive which will take place immediately before the International Congress.

The Administrative Council at its initial session (13th June, 1923) decided to appoint three assistants, namely, Dr. Oskar Pollak (Vienna) and the two previous employees of the Secretariats in London and Vienna respectively, Miss Dennehy and Mrs. Pollak. When the technical side of the work went on increasing through the publication of *International Information*, a juvenile assistant was also appointed in September, 1924. The Secretaries owe to the employees of the Secretariat their warmest thanks for their remarkable conscientiousness and extremely valuable co-operation.

The capacity of the Secretariat has developed gradually. At first the intercourse with the Parties, the records of the countries, Press-cuttings, &c., had to be instituted. The next step was the publication of the printed *Bulletin* in English, French and German, which appeared for the first time in March, 1924, and records in documentary form the chief manifestoes, meetings, resolutions and activities of the International. In September, 1924, followed the publication of the weekly News Sheet, *International Information*, also in three languages, which aims especially to supplement the reports on the main political events of the day by

supplying the socialist Press with news of the internal happenings in the daily life of the Labour Parties. Fortunately, the journalistic success of the venture exceeded all expectation; however, the Secretariat is well aware of the improvements which could be introduced into this news service if the requisite means were provided.

In order to obtain a survey of the position of the Movement, the Secretariat, both in 1923 and 1924, circulated a statistical *questionnaire* to the affiliated Parties. The replies to the questionnaire of 1924 are embodied in Chapter V. of this Report, "Affiliated Parties."

Intercourse between the Secretariat and the affiliated Parties, in addition to the regular meetings, numerous circular letters, &c., was kept up also by means of visits by the Secretaries to the various Parties. The opportunity for such visits arose partly at Executive and Bureau meetings, partly at the Conferences of Parties called by the Executive, at the Commissions appointed by it and at the Annual Congresses. In view of the circumstance that one of the two Secretaries was on leave of absence for ten months, it was not indeed possible to accept all the invitations addressed to the Secretariat by the affiliated Parties, although other members of the Executive also willingly undertook delegates' duties at Annual Congresses. However, the L.S.I. was represented at the following Party Congresses :—

At the Congress of the Danish Socialist Party in Odense (September, 1923), by Comrade Shaw.

At the Congress of the German Socialist Party in Czecho-Slovakia in Aussig (December, 1923), by Comrade Adler.

At the Congress of the Latvian Socialist Party in Riga (April, 1924), by Comrade Tsereteli.

At the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party in Budapest (April, 1924), by Comrade Cramp.

At the Congress of the I.L.P. in York (April, 1924), by Comrade Adler.

At the Congress of the Socialist Party of Germany in Berlin (June, 1924), by Comrade De Brouckère.

At the Austrian Congress in Salzburg (November, 1924), by Comrade Adler.

At the French Congress in Grenoble (February, 1925), and at the Congress of the Belgian Labour Party in Brussels (June, 1925), by Comrade Shaw.

To the Congresses of all the remaining Parties the Secretariat has as far as possible sent greetings by letter or wire.

Further, the L.S.I. was represented—

At the ceremony of the transfer of Jaurès' remains to the Panthéon (23rd November, 1924), in Paris; at the funeral of Branting (1st March, 1925), in Stockholm; at the funeral of Ebert (4th March, 1925), in Berlin; at the unveiling of the monument to Guesde (12th May, 1925), in Roubaix, on each occasion by Comrade Shaw.

At the unveiling of a memorial tablet to Vaillant (21st December, 1924), in Vierzon, by Comrade Bracke.

At the great meeting on the occasion of the Jaures ceremony in the Trocadero, in Paris, Comrade Vandervelde was the spokesman for all the international delegates.

At the presentation of the International's Flag of Honour to the Vienna Workers (21st September, 1924), in Vienna, the L.S.I. was represented by Comrades Wallhead, Bauer and Skaret. On this occasion the Vienna organisation had a memorial coin struck in honour of the 60th Anniversary of the International.

The Secretariat has given regular reports to every sitting of the Executive regarding its work. In the report laid before the meeting of the Executive in Brussels (January, 1925), the development of events

in Esthonia was the occasion of a general discussion of the methods which the Secretariat held should guide it in its actions. It is there stated :—

On several occasions, when political events of some importance have occurred, some of our comrades have expressed the opinion—sometimes through the Press—that the *International has not acted with sufficient promptitude*. This reproach was raised in the case of the *Georgian rising* as well as in the case of the *ultimatum to Egypt*, and on other occasions.

Let us first say a word on the general procedure of the L.S.I. In our opinion the correct way of dealing with a political question is that the Party immediately concerned shall take the initiative, so that, as a matter of course, the action of the International must appear as a *supplementary* action. It was in order, from that point of view, for the Russian Social-Democratic Party to raise the first protest against the action of the Russian Government on the occasion of the rising in Georgia, as it was correct that the British Party was the first to protest against the attitude of the British Government towards Egypt.

All international action is more complicated and takes up more time than action in any particular country, and it is all the more difficult when the country in question is remote from the Secretariat and reliable information is difficult to obtain. International action, therefore, cannot bear from the outset the same character of promptitude as action on national lines, but *the judgment of the International will count more for its accuracy than for its rapidity*.

In Moscow another method is adopted. There they are not afraid of being rash, and for this reason resolutions and manifestoes coming from that quarter quickly lose credit. Action by Moscow actually precedes the actions of the different countries, and the parties affiliated to it appear as mere puppets of the International centre.

We hold that, in spite of the danger that a pronouncement by the International in a short-lived political situation might be belated and lacking in sensation for the Press, the International ought to maintain the method of allowing the Party immediately concerned to take the lead and fulfil its own duty by co-ordinating action in different countries.

On every occasion the Executive adopted the Secretariat's Report unanimously and expressed its thanks to, and trust in, the Secretaries.

CHAPTER III.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

1. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

The friendly relations between the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. have already been noted so frequently in this Report that it would be superfluous to add more than a short survey. The close collaboration between the two great international organisations of the proletariat can best be appreciated by the successes which they have been able to achieve for the common cause of the workers in all countries.

The rules of the L.S.I. as framed in Hamburg lay down :—

The L.S.I. considers the unity of the Trade Union Movement as it is represented in the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) to be absolutely essential for realising the emancipation of the working class.

The L.S.I. will, therefore, maintain close connection with the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam).

. The L.S.I. is ready to call joint meetings and Congresses from time to time together with these International Organisations in order to discuss problems which are common to all.

At the Hamburg Congress itself the good understanding existing was indicated in the presence of the Secretary of the I.F.T.U., Comrade Oudegeest, who, on behalf of his organisation, hailed the foundation of the L.S.I.

The first joint consultation between the two organisations was held in Brussels in October, 1923. The Bureaus framed in common a declaration on the Reparations Question. (See page 27).

At its session in Luxemburg the Executive of the L.S.I. resolved :—

To nominate two representatives from the L.S.I. to carry out preliminary negotiations with the I.F.T.U., these representatives to act as delegates from the L.S.I. should a Committee come into being. Cramp and Adler were chosen in this capacity.

In conformity with this resolution on the 1st March, 1924, in Amsterdam, Comrades Cramp and Adler had an interview with the I.F.T.U. representatives (Jouhaux, Mertens, Oudegeest, Sassenbach) to negotiate about the setting up of a joint committee. It was agreed to appoint such a committee in the first instance for two particular objects, namely, the question of the ratification of the Washington Convention and the question of the Treaties of Guarantee. For the I.F.T.U., Comrades Jouhaux and Oudegeest, and for the L.S.I., Comrades Cramp and Adler, formed a committee, which met in London on the 15th April, 1924. In addition contact was maintained by constant correspondence on all vital questions.

From the 2nd to the 6th June, 1924, the I.F.T.U. Congress sat in Vienna. It was greeted by Comrade Adler on behalf of the L.S.I. The Executive of the L.S.I. had resolved to hold a meeting in Vienna at the same time, which assembled on the 5th June. During its course there was arranged a joint consultation with the Executive of the I.F.T.U. (on the 7th June) in regard to the organisation of the Anti-War Demonstration on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war, for which arrangements were made in common. (See page 74).

The two organisations agreed further to present jointly to the workers of Vienna a flag of honour as a token of thanks for the wonderful demonstration with which they greeted the delegates of the two Internationals on the 5th June. The formal presentation of this flag by the I.F.T.U. delegates (Mertens and Sassenbach) and by those of the L.S.I. (Bauer, Skaret and Wallhead) took place in Vienna on the 21st September, 1924, amidst the acclamations of an audience of 150,000. Here, as everywhere else, the 21st September was observed both for the anti-war demonstrations launched by the I.F.T.U., and for the 60th commemoration of the birth of the International.

For the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war (end of July, 1924) the two Internationals, jointly with the Socialist Youth International, issued a manifesto in common. (See page 13).

A further joint consultation between the two Bureaus was held, when it became necessary to define the attitude towards the Experts' Report and the impending London Conference of Governments. The meeting (14th July, 1924) adopted a unanimous resolution, which, while recommending acceptance of the Experts' Report, despite its drawbacks, as the best solution attainable at the moment, demanded substantial additions to it. (See page 29).

With similar reservations, the two Bureaus at their session in Brussels (3rd and 4th January, 1925) declared in favour of the Geneva Protocol. At the same session resolutions were framed on the Eight-Hour Day and on the Abolition of Night Work in Bakeries. (See page 52).

2. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

With reference to the International Co-operative Alliance the rules of the L.S.I. contain instructions analogous to those referring to the Trade Union International, and also at the Executive meeting of the L.S.I. in Luxemburg similar decisions were taken referring to co-operation with both organisations.

These resolutions the Secretariat of the L.S.I. on the 27th February, 1924, communicated in writing to the International Co-operative Alliance, and received the following answer:—

DEAR DR. ADLER,

LONDON,
April 5th, 1924.

Your letter of the 27th February concerning relations with the Trade Union International and the Co-operative International, in which your Council invites this Alliance to form a joint committee of representatives of the three bodies, was duly considered at our recent meeting at Prague.

In the course of the discussion which took place upon your letter the scope of your proposal assumed very wide proportions, and it was urged that the declared neutrality of this Alliance in politics prevented us from acceding to the proposal of your Council however much we desired to establish closer relations with other International Organisations. Eventually, it was decided to decline your kind invitation for the present, and in conveying this decision I am to express the heartiest good wishes for the success of all development of your work.

Yours faithfully,
HENRY MAY,
General Secretary.

It is clear from the reports published of the deliberations of the International Co-operative Alliance, that the maintenance of its political neutrality in every direction is conditioned by the fact, that the Russian Co-operative Societies also form part of this organisation.

Nevertheless, the relations between the L.S.I. and the International Co-operative Alliance, in so far as contact has been effected, have been altogether friendly. Some degree of neighbourly contact has been established through the circumstance, that since July, 1924, the Secretariat of the L.S.I. has been lodged in the same building with the International Co-operative Alliance, and for some time as its sub-tenant.

3. INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WOMEN'S COMMITTEE.

Simultaneously with the Congress of the L.S.I. was held in Hamburg an International Women's Conference. This Conference set up its Præsidium in the form of an International Socialist Women's Committee, which does not however possess any permanent headquarters.

The International Women's Conference addressed a request to the Hamburg Congress, to elect to the Bureau of the L.S.I. one woman with the express mandate of looking after the affairs of the women's movement within the International. This request was referred by the Congress to the Executive of the L.S.I., and considered by the latter at its session in Luxemburg. The Executive reached the following decision:—

That a representative of the International Socialist Women's Committee, appointed by the Women's International Socialist Conference at Hamburg, be invited to Executive Meetings of the L.S.I. Should the Women's Organisation develop and extend, the Executive of the L.S.I. shall be represented on that body corresponding to our Executive.

In conformity with this resolution Comrade Adelheid Popp attended the Executive meetings in Vienna and Paris, and Comrade Dr. Marion Phillips those in London and Brussels, on behalf of the Socialist Women.

At the meetings of the Executive the representatives of the International Socialist Women's Committee brought forward the question of organising an International Women's Conference in connection with the International Congress of 1925. In its session in Paris the Executive gave effect to this suggestion and fixed the International Women's Conference for the day preceding the opening of the International Congress. It resolved further to include the reports and motions of this Women's Conference as a special item on the agenda of the International Congress. In this way the L.S.I. has expressed in a prominent form the strong interest which the International takes in the Women's Labour Movement, and it is to be hoped that this collaboration will help to promote the extension of organisation and propaganda amongst women.

4. INTERNATIONAL OF SOCIALIST YOUTH.

The International of Socialist Youth was founded immediately following the Congress of the L.S.I. in Hamburg. Berlin was chosen as the headquarters of its Secretariat.

At the Executive Session of the L.S.I. in Luxemburg it was resolved:

To send a representative of the L.S.I. to the Executive of the Youth International, and to grant to the Youth International the right of representation at Executive Meetings of the L.S.I., without the right of voting. The Youth International having its headquarters in Berlin, Crispin (Germany) was nominated to represent the Executive of the L.S.I. for the time being.

The International of Socialist Youth has nominated as its permanent representative on the Executive of the L.S.I., Comrade Heinz (Vienna), who consequently took part at the sessions of the Executive in Vienna and Brussels in this capacity.

The manifesto for the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war was signed by the Socialist Youth International jointly with the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U.

For the rest, contact between the two organisations was maintained by correspondence between the Secretariats, who kept each other acquainted with the main events and decisions of the moment.

5. INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS FOR EDUCATION.

During the sittings of the International Congress in Hamburg there took place an informal conference of Socialist educationists, who entrusted a committee with preparatory steps towards the creation of an International Organisation for Socialist Education of Children.

Through the I.F.T.U. this committee also approached the L.S.I., who gave it moral support. On the 6th January, 1924, there was then held in Hanover, attended by a representative of the I.F.T.U., and by Comrade Crispin, on behalf of the L.S.I., the initial conference of the *Socialist Educational International*, who fixed their headquarters for the time being in Vienna. Comrade Crispin reported as to its foundation to the Executive of the L.S.I., which resolved in accordance with the desire of the organisation, to appoint on its Executive a fraternal delegate. In agreement with the Austrian Party, Comrade Therese Schlesinger was entrusted with these functions.

For the *International Conference on Workers' Education*, held in Oxford, under the auspices of the I.F.T.U. from the 15th to the 17th August, 1924, the L.S.I. also received an invitation, and appointed as delegate Comrade Cramp, who, however, at the last moment, was prevented from attending personally and communicated his good wishes in writing. The Conference set up an International Committee for Workers' Education, which is to take the initial steps towards the creation of a Workers' Education International.

6. COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

During the period of this Report the L.S.I. has scarcely entered into contact with the Communist International. On Lenin's death the Secretariat despatched to it the following telegram:—

Deeply touched by the sudden death of Lenin, we feel bound to express to the workers adhering to the Communist International, at this tragic moment, that, however strong are the dissensions about the road to be followed by the working classes, we always believed Lenin to go his way true in his faith, honest in his heart, and deeply devoted to the cause of the workers of all countries.

On behalf of the Secretariat of the L.S.I.,

FRIEDRICH ADLER.

Neither have there been any relations with other Communist organisations. With reference to the branch office of the Communist International known as "*Workers' International Relief*," the Executive of the L.S.I. at its session in Luxemburg resolved to acquaint its affiliated Parties with the material revealing the true character of this body. This was carried out by the Secretariat both directly and through the channels of the Press. On the "*International Red Aid*," see also pages 33 and 87.

THE FIRST BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT.



January to November, 1924.

During the period of this report endeavours were made to start a new international organisation. The initiative was taken by the Italian Maximalist Party, and it was strongly supported by Angelica Balabanow. Besides the Party mentioned above, only one other party of any importance is in the combination—the Norwegian Labour Party. Other small groups, like the Hoeglund Party in Sweden, the Left Socialist Revolutionaries of Russia, and the Ledebour group in Germany, are expected to join. The Swiss Socialist Party has not yet formally determined its attitude, but its Press has strongly repudiated the attempt.

These attempts clearly show the decline of the Moscow International. During the first years after the war, Moscow's attractive power was so great that a number of parties particularly exposed to that power—such as the Independent Socialist Party in Germany and the French Socialists—in order to resist it, formed a special international group known as the Vienna Union. To-day the process is inverted. The repulsive power of Moscow has become so great as to cause a special group of those expelled by Moscow to be formed. This group, should they succeed in becoming organised, will not play an important rôle. It is only to be regretted that, by this formation, a further obstacle will be put in the way of uniting the Italian working class, who sadly need to unite in the fight against Fascism, and especially in the stormy times which may follow the Fascist decline. We quite understand the psychological difficulties in which the members of this new group find themselves, but we trust that they will learn to overcome them and free themselves completely from any trace of Bolshevik errors.

CHAPTER IV.

FINANCES OF THE L.S.I.

1. THE SYSTEM OF LEVY.

In view of the extremely unstable conditions of the currency in many countries the Hamburg Congress resolved with reference to the system of levy:—

To defray the costs of the work of the L.S.I. a yearly levy based on the membership must be paid. This levy will be arranged to deal as equitably as possible with the peculiar position of the exchanges. It will be based on pre-war currencies, say 1 Swiss centime per member multiplied by the number of times wages have increased. (Article 22 of the Constitution.)

The carrying out of the special calculations for individual countries was a matter of some difficulty, as the statistical material on the change in the average rates of wages as compared with the pre-war period was by no means easy to obtain in all cases. However, in the course of time the Secretariat managed to reach an understanding with nearly all the Parties as to the amount of the levy.

It had already become evident within the first six months after the initial Congress that if it were to be based solely on the fees as provided by the Rules, the revenue accruing could not be sufficient. Against the annual outlay of £3,200 anticipated by the Administrative Committee, an income of no more than £1,800 could be expected. In this connection especially strong factors were that the second strongest of the affiliated Parties, the German, in the conditions produced by inflation in Germany, was obviously during the first year in no position to pay substantial levies; and that likewise the peculiar situation of the Parties in Italy and France did not admit of any normal contribution from them. Consequently, as early as the session in Luxemburg in February, 1924, the Executive found itself compelled to find a method of about doubling its income. Merely to have doubled the levies payable by the Rules was not feasible, since it would have meant laying too heavy a burden on Great Britain, which, according to the method of calculation in the Rules had to bear about two-thirds of the expenses. The Executive resolved, therefore, in addition to the statutory levy based on membership, to impose a supplementary levy based on votes at Congress. Its resolution ran as follows:—

To adopt, in addition to the levy provided for according to the Statutes, an additional levy of Six pounds per Congress Vote, provisionally for the first financial year (ending 31st May, 1924).

At the session of the Executive in Vienna, June, 1924, it was resolved to maintain the system of an additional levy of £6 per vote at Congress for the second financial year also, but to work out for the International Congress of 1925 a proposal on the levies, according to which the financial burdens will be "distributed in a truer proportion than is the case under the present system." The Executive's resolution ran as follows:—

The Executive has examined the Administrative Committee's proposed budget for the next financial year and has approved. So as to meet necessary expenses it is absolutely important that all parties, without exception, shall meet their obligations.

As the membership fee has been based according to the Rules—Art. 22—it is only Congress which can effect an alteration. The Executive, however, charges the Administrative Committee to draw up a proposal for the next International Congress in which the fees will be distributed in truer proportion than is the case under the present system.

At the Luxemburg meeting the Executive adopted an additional fee for the first financial year, which fee is based on Congress votes. Until the matter has been settled in Congress the Executive considers that this supplementary fee should also be paid for the second year.

International solidarity requires that all Parties affiliated to the L.S.I. help each other as far as possible. From this standpoint the L.S.I. renounces its claim to fees, as an exception, and only for the first year, from Italy where Fascism rules, from Germany where the Social Democratic Party has had to struggle through a great economic crisis, and from France, disturbed by Party division, and only just now in a position to reconstruct its organisation, and finally from Russia, where the Parties, forced to illegal methods, have had to suffer bitter sacrifices. The Executive requests the Russian comrades to use the fee due to the International for the prisoners in Russia.

In the second financial year the conditions in Germany and France have become so far stabilised that the Parties there were able to meet their obligations in full.* In Italy and Russia, on the contrary, the conditions which had induced the Executive to make an exception of these Parties, continued. In consequence, at its session in Brussels (January, 1925) the Executive resolved:—

That, for the financial year 1924-25 the parties of Italy and Russia shall utilise their subscriptions towards the support of prisoners and exiles in the Fascist and Bolshevik prisons of their countries.

The financial year was first reckoned to begin from the Hamburg Congress, that is, from the 1st June. The Executive decided to bring it into conformity with the calendar year, and to this end, at the session in Brussels, January, 1925, adopted the following measures:—

(a) The next closing of the books to take place, not on June 1st, but on July 1st, that is to say, a seven months' period.

(b) The Parties pay their subscriptions for the month of June, 1925, in accordance with previous arrangements, that is to say, they pay one-twelfth of their total subscriptions for the year 1924-25.

(c) The next payment to be for a half-year, viz., for the second half-year of 1925. These subscriptions to be based on the decisions of the next Congress.

(d) From January 1st, 1926, onwards, Parties to pay their subscriptions by the calendar year.

The Secretariat followed up the decision of the Executive of June, 1924, that proposals for a new system of levy should be brought forward. With the agreement of the Administrative Committee in April, 1925, there was submitted to the Parties a proposal for remodelling the system of levy, which will be studied at the Congress. The main heads of this proposal are as follows:—

The work of readjusting the system of levies has two objects. In the first place the system hitherto employed should be simplified, and secondly fees should be more evenly levied without reducing the total income.

In the first connection, it would be better to substitute for the system, which takes into consideration the economic position of each country through the increase of wages since the pre-war period, a more simple scheme. The system of levying the same sum per head for all countries, which has already been tried by certain International Trade Union Organisations, appears to be an exceedingly unjust scheme in view of the varying economic conditions. Even in countries where the currency is stabilised wages are by no means in keeping with their purchasing power. It goes without saying that every fluctuation cannot be taken into account and that variations cannot be completely allowed for, because real wages are by no means identical with the figures they represent in money. At the same time it appears to be necessary to retain a definite system of differentiation.

We propose dividing the countries into three different groups:—

- (i) Countries where the currency is practically stabilised and where the ratio between wages and prices is relatively good.
- (ii) Stabilised countries where wages remain out of proportion to the cost of living, and unstabilised countries where the ratio of wages to prices is relatively good.
- (iii) Unstabilised countries, the ratio between wages and prices is not good or where there are exceptional economic difficulties for the Party in question.

* In June, 1925, the German Party decided to remit the fees for the first year.

We propose as the levy basis for these three groups, 1½ Swiss centimes, 1 Swiss centime, and ¾ of a Swiss centime per head respectively. Under the system now in practice the proportion varies between ½ centime and 2 centimes per head—a fluctuation of 1½ centimes which, according to the new system, would be reduced to one-third, i.e., ½ a centime.

Until now the Congress vote levy has been £6 per vote for each country, without distinction. We propose that this levy also be worked on the Three-Group System, Group (i) to pay ¼ more per vote and Group (iii) ¼ less, so that the levy for the three groups would read respectively £7 10s., £6, and £4 10s.

Under the present system England has borne practically one-third of the L.S.I. expenses, whereas the amount levied on some of the other countries has been in a lower proportion, taking into account their ability to pay. In England, as in Belgium and Hungary, where Trade Unions are affiliated as bodies to the respective Parties, only half of the total membership has been taken into account. But, even in spite of that fact, the amount realised from England in respect of membership was exceedingly high. Generally speaking, the system adopted for Congress votes has proved sound, and we have no alternative system to propose beyond that of working on the Group System in the way set out above.

The levy on membership, however, can be adjusted more evenly by two methods of calculation:—

(1) By a sliding scale.

(2) By limiting the levies to a certain membership figure.

The latter method is all the more reasonable seeing that Congress votes are also limited, the limit being 30. We would propose as the membership limit one million members for which Parties will be liable to pay.

Under the sliding system special consideration should be given to small parties of less than 5,000 members, and the amount per head should diminish as the membership increases. This method could be realised by establishing a Three-Scale system in proportion to membership. The scale would be as follows:—

| MEMBERSHIP GROUPS. | Per Head. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| From 1—50,000 | 3 times the basis. |
| Between 50,001—100,000 | Twice the basis. |
| Over 100,000 | The basis. |

That means that the middle group (ii) of countries (based on 1 centime) would pay as follows:—

| MEMBERSHIP. | Per Head. |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1—50,000 | 3 Swiss centimes. |
| 50,001—100,000 | 2 " " |
| Over 100,000 | 1 " " |

i.e., a party of over 100,000 members pays 150,000 centimes for the first 50,000 members, 100,000 centimes for the next 50,000 members, but only 1 centime per head for any further members. In this way a Party of 120,000 members pays in all 270,000 Swiss centimes.

The scale for Groups (i) and (iii)—countries with high exchange and countries with very depreciated exchanges respectively—will be raised or diminished by ¼ respectively. The complete scale will be as follows:—

| MEMBERSHIP. | GROUP (i). Per head. | GROUP (ii). Per head. | GROUP (iii). Per head. |
|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| From 1—50,000 | 3½ Swiss cts. | 3 Swiss cts. | 2½ Swiss cts. |
| 50,001—100,000 | 2½ " " | 2 " " | 1½ " " |
| Over 100,000 | 1½ " " | 1 " " | ¾ " " |

Parties with less than 5,000 members would have to pay both for membership and Congress votes only half the amount reckoned under the above scales.

Parties forced by political terrorism to work illegally will have to pay instead of the levy based on membership, twice the amount of their Congress vote levy.

2. TREASURER'S REPORT.

The period of the Report covers the time from June 1st, 1923, to June 30th, 1925, or 25 months. In order to present it more simply the closing periods in each of the two years and the month of June, 1925, are given separately. The whole of the bookkeeping was conducted in English pounds.

(A) THE AFFILIATION FEES OF THE PARTIES.

The annexed Table shows the actual amounts of the affiliation fees paid by the Parties during the period of the Report. The gross receipts from the affiliation fees of the Parties are £6,285 12s. 2d. The outstanding debts of £309 are gratifyingly small, and should in part be met between now and the Congress.

TABLE 1.
FEES PAID IN BY THE PARTIES.

| PARTIES. | FIRST YEAR. 1.6.1923—31.5.1924 | | SECOND YEAR. 1.6.1924—31.5.1925. | | June, 1925. | TOTAL. 1.6.1923— 30.6.1925 | | STILL DUE 1.6.1923— 30.6.1925. | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| | Membership Fees. | Congress Vote Fees. | Membership Fees. | Congress Vote Fees. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| America (U.S.A.) .. | £ s. d. 10 0 0 | £ s. d. 72 0 0 | £ s. d. 72 0 0 | £ s. d. 50 0 0 | £ s. d. 1 15 1 | £ s. d. 132 0 0 | £ s. d. 45 1 3 | — | — |
| Argentina .. | — | — | 3 1 0 | 18 0 0 | 2 6 8 | 22 16 1 | — | — | — |
| Armenia .. | 10 0 0 | 12 0 0 | 10 0 0 | 18 0 0 | — | 52 6 8 | — | — | — |
| Austria : | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| German S.P. .. | 120 0 0 | 84 0 0 | 125 6 3 | 84 0 0 | 17 8 10 | 430 15 1 | — | — | — |
| Czech S.P. .. | 2 11 5 | 6 0 0 | 2 11 5 | 6 0 0 | 0 17 11 | 18 0 9 | — | — | — |
| Belgium .. | 117 14 7 | 90 0 0 | 116 4 7 | 90 0 0 | 17 3 8 | 431 2 10 | — | — | — |
| Bulgaria .. | 10 4 6 | 6 0 0 | 8 4 6 | — | — | 24 9 0 | 7 3 8 | — | — |
| Czecho-Slovakia : | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Czech S.P. .. | 27 19 6 | 48 0 0 | 27 15 0 | 48 0 0 | 6 6 3 | 158 0 9 | — | — | — |
| German S.P. .. | 19 15 6 | 42 0 0 | 15 19 2 | 36 0 0 | 4 6 7 | 118 1 3 | — | — | — |
| Hungarian S.P. .. | 1 0 0 | — | — | 6 0 0 | — | 7 0 0 | 1 1 3 | — | — |
| Ruthenian S.P. .. | 4 2 0 | — | 4 10 0 | — | 0 7 6 | 8 19 6 | — | — | — |
| Polish S.P. .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 0 0 | — | — |
| Socialist Union .. | 3 4 0 | 3 2 6 | — | — | — | 6 6 6 | — | — | — |
| Danzig .. | 2 1 4 | — | 2 1 4 | — | 0 2 4 | 4 5 0 | — | — | — |
| Denmark .. | 75 15 3 | 72 0 0 | 75 15 3 | 72 0 0 | 12 6 3 | 307 16 9 | — | — | — |
| Great Britain : | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Labour Party .. | 1040 0 0 | 168 0 0 | 1054 1 8 | 168 0 0 | 100 13 4 | 2530 15 0 | — | — | — |
| Independent L.P. .. | 19 0 0 | 12 0 0 | 32 0 0 | 12 0 0 | 3 13 4 | 78 13 4 | — | — | — |
| Esthonia .. | 1 5 0 | 6 0 0 | 1 5 0 | 6 0 0 | 0 12 1 | 15 2 1 | — | — | — |
| Finland .. | 16 18 2 | 36 0 0 | 16 18 2 | 36 0 0 | 4 8 2 | 110 4 6 | — | — | — |
| France .. | — | — | 24 1 0 | 96 0 0 | 10 15 3 | 130 16 3 | — | — | — |
| Georgia .. | 10 0 0 | 18 0 0 | 10 0 0 | 18 0 0 | 2 6 8 | 58 6 8 | — | — | — |
| Germany .. | 183 4 2 | 180 0 0 | 203 2 10 | 180 0 0 | 31 13 1 | 778 0 1 | 9 9 2 | — | — |
| Greece .. | — | 6 0 0 | — | — | — | 6 0 0 | — | — | — |
| Holland .. | 42 0 0 | 42 0 0 | 42 0 0 | 42 0 0 | 7 0 0 | 175 0 0 | — | — | — |
| Hungary .. | 9 2 8 | 48 0 0 | 9 2 8 | 48 0 0 | 4 15 2 | 119 0 6 | — | — | — |
| Jugo-Slavia .. | 4 6 0 | — | — | — | — | 4 6 0 | 17 3 6 | — | — |
| Latvia .. | 1 10 0 | 12 0 0 | — | — | — | 13 10 0 | 14 12 6 | — | — |
| Lithuania .. | 1 5 10 | 6 0 0 | 1 2 1 | 6 0 0 | 0 12 1 | 15 0 0 | — | — | — |
| Luxemburg .. | 0 6 0 | — | — | — | — | 0 6 0 | 12 16 6 | — | — |
| Norway .. | 5 1 1 | — | 4 1 11 | — | — | 9 3 0 | 37 16 9 | — | — |
| Palestine .. | — | 6 0 0 | — | — | — | 6 0 0 | 21 6 8 | — | — |
| Poland : | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| P.S.P. .. | 15 19 4 | 48 0 0 | 12 0 0 | — | — | 75 19 4 | 57 5 11 | — | — |
| Independent S.P. .. | — | — | 0 10 0 | 6 0 0 | — | 6 10 0 | 8 3 0 | — | — |
| German S.P. .. | 1 5 4 | 6 0 0 | 1 5 0 | 6 0 0 | 0 12 1 | 15 2 5 | — | — | — |
| Roumania .. | 4 4 5 | 18 0 0 | — | — | — | 22 4 5 | 24 1 5 | — | — |
| Spain .. | 5 2 0 | 18 0 0 | 5 2 0 | 18 0 0 | 1 15 11 | 47 19 11 | — | — | — |
| Sweden .. | 91 0 5 | 72 0 0 | 91 0 5 | 72 0 0 | 13 11 8 | 339 12 6 | — | — | — |
| Turkey .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | 12 0 0 | — | — |
| Ukraine .. | — | 6 0 0 | — | — | — | 6 0 0 | 40 6 8 | — | — |
| TOTAL .. | 1855 18 6 | 1143 2 6 | 1899 1 3 | 1142 0 0 | 245 9 11 | 6285 12 2 | 309 8 3 | — | — |

(B) THE ADMINISTRATION OF ACCOUNTS.

From the following Table can be seen the aggregate totals of income and expenditure:—

TABLE 2.

| | FIRST YEAR. 1.6.1923—31.5.1924 | SECOND YEAR. 1.6.1924—31.5.1925 | June, 1925. |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| Balance | — | 187 18 11 | 415 7 9½ |
| Receipts | 3134 14 0 | 3989 12 3½ | 417 15 0 |
| Expenses | 2946 15 1 | 3762 3 5 | 489 18 6 |
| Surplus | 187 18 11 | 415 7 9½ | 343 4 3½ |

The balance refers to the first day of the specified period, the Surplus to the last day and, indeed, represents the total cash at bank and in hand.

The accounts, which were kept in the Secretariat, have usually been examined monthly by the Treasurer of the L.S.I. and the amounts checked. There has never been any occasion for criticism.

(C) THE BALANCE SHEET.

The following Table gives a summary of the receipts :—

TABLE 3.
INCOME.

| | FIRST YEAR. 1.6.1923— 31.5.1924. | SECOND YEAR. 1.6.1924— 31.5.1925. | June 1925. | Total. |
|-------------------------|--|---|-----------------|------------------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| Party Fees | 2684 9 4 | 3880 15 6 | 404 17 6 | 6970 2 4 |
| I.I. and Bulletin .. | 7 16 7 | 108 16 9½ | 2 17 6 | 119 10 10½ |
| Hamburg Congress .. | 33 10 11 | — | — | 33 10 11 |
| Second International .. | 327 19 5 | — | — | 327 19 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 80 17 9 | — | 10 0 0 | 90 17 9 |
| TOTAL | 3134 14 0 | 3989 12 3½ | 417 15 0 | 7542 1 3½ |

The affiliation fees of the Parties form the chief item of the receipts. It is composed of the following two totals :—

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Affiliation Fees for the period up to 30.6.1925 (as per Table 1) .. | £ s. d. |
| Payments on account for the second half-year, 1925 .. | 6285 12 2 |
| Total | 684 10 2 |
| Total | 6970 2 4 |

With regard to these payments on account for the next year it follows that the outstanding debts accrued during the now past period of the Report are already more than met. It is shown in the following form :—

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Payments on account for the second half-year, 1925 .. | £ s. d. |
| Outstanding Affiliation Fees, 1923—1925 | 684 10 2 |
| Surplus at 1st July, 1925 | 309 8 3 |
| Difference | 375 1 11 |
| Liabilities for the Report Period | 343 4 3½ |
| Liabilities for the Report Period | 31 17 7½ |

The Report period therefore closes according to calculation with a liability of £31 17s. 7½d.

The expenses per month amounted during the Report Period to an average of £288. In the following summary the items of expenditure are compared with the preliminary estimates. To simplify this comparison the expenses are arranged as far as possible so that they appear in the periods to which they are appropriate. The total of all the expenses of £7,198 18s. 0d. is of course identical with the total expenditure arranged in Table 2, according to the books.

TABLE 4.
SUMMARY OF EXPENSES

| | FIRST YEAR. 1.6.1923—31.5.1924. | | SECOND YEAR. 1.6.1924—31.5.1925. | | JUNE, 1925. | | TOTAL PERIOD-OF THE REPORT (25 MONTHS). 1.6.1923—30.6.1925. | | DIFFERENCE. (Expenses minus Estimate). | |
|--|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|---|------------------|--|-----------------|
| | Expenses. | Estimate. | Expenses. | Estimate. | Expenses. | Estimate. | Expenses. | Estimate. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| Offices (Rent, Cleaning, Light, Telephone, &c.) | 119 12 10 | 225 0 0 | 200 0 9 | 225 0 0 | 53 12 5 | 18 15 0 | 373 6 0 | 468 15 0 | Minus | 95 9 0 |
| Printing and Duplicating | 74 7 11 | 500 0 0 | 302 14 3 | 500 0 0 | 16 12 6 | 41 13 4 | 393 14 8 | 1041 13 4 | Minus | 647 18 8 |
| General Expenses (Stamps, Telegrams, Paper, &c.) | 94 19 3 | 75 0 0 | 150 15 4½ | 120 0 0 | 20 2 7 | 10 0 0 | 265 17 2½ | 205 0 0 | Plus | 60 17 2½ |
| Secretaries | 975 0 0 | 1200 0 0 | 925 0 0 | 1200 0 0 | 100 0 0 | 100 0 0 | 2000 0 0 | 2500 0 0 | Minus | 500 0 0 |
| Staff | 666 0 0 | 716 0 0 | 781 15 6 | 716 0 0 | 62 0 0 | 59 13 4 | 1509 15 6 | 1491 13 4 | Plus | 18 2 2 |
| Translation Work | 2 3 10½ | — | 5 10 10 | 5 0 0 | — | 0 8 4 | 7 14 8½ | 5 8 4 | Plus | 2 6 4½ |
| Delegations | 544 9 10 | 500 0 0 | 763 1 7 | 500 0 0 | 76 15 2 | 41 13 4 | 1384 6 7 | 1041 13 4 | Plus | 342 13 3 |
| Executive and Bureau Meetings | 89 6 10 | — | 346 15 8 | 150 0 0 | — | 12 10 0 | 436 2 6 | 162 10 0 | Plus | 273 12 6 |
| ORDINARY EXPENDITURE | 2566 0 6½ | 3216 0 0 | 3475 13 1½ | 3416 0 0 | 329 2 8 | 284 13 4 | 6370 17 2 | 6916 13 4 | Minus | 545 16 2 |
| Special Commissions | 227 15 7 | — | 102 2 10 | 200 0 0 | 93 10 6 | 16 13 4 | 423 8 11 | 216 13 4 | Plus | 206 15 7 |
| Furniture, Repairs, Removal Arrangements | 65 13 0 | — | 137 5 2 | 100 0 0 | 5 12 0 | 8 6 8 | 208 10 2 | 108 6 8 | Plus | 100 3 6 |
| Flag for Austrian Workers | — | — | 47 6 5 | — | — | — | 47 6 5 | — | Plus | 47 6 5 |
| Celebration of 60th Anniversary of the International in London | — | — | 97 2 0 | — | — | — | 97 2 0 | — | Plus | 97 2 0 |
| For English Matteotti Edition | — | — | — | 75 0 0 | 31 13 4 | — | 31 13 4 | 75 0 0 | Minus | 43 6 8 |
| Translation of Congress Report | — | — | — | — | 20 0 0 | — | 20 0 0 | — | Plus | 20 0 0 |
| EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURE | 293 8 7 | — | 383 16 5 | 375 0 0 | 150 15 10 | 25 0 0 | 828 0 10 | 400 0 0 | Plus | 428 0 10 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURE (Ordinary and Extraordinary) | 2859 9 1½ | 3216 0 0 | 3859 10 4½ | 3791 0 0 | 479 18 6 | 309 13 4 | 7198 18 0 | 7316 13 4 | Minus | 117 15 4 |

With regard to the ordinary budget the expenses remain at £545 16s. 2d., while the extraordinary expenses stand at £428 0s. 10d. more than could have been estimated. On the whole, against the £7,316 13s. 4d. estimated for the Report period, there is an actual expenditure of £7,198 18s. 0d., so that as much as £117 15s. 4d. of the preliminary estimate was not required.

The scope of the budget, in comparison with that of kindred bodies, has been kept within very narrow limits, and it will be the task of the future to enhance the capacity of the International by extending its material potentialities. Above all, it will be necessary to prepare the means required for the setting up of a record department, and for the development of the news service for the Press and of the publications which are to serve the record departments of the Parties. The creation of a reserve fund is also urgently needed. As the Tables show expenditure has always been covered by income; but the margin has always been so bare that the L.S.I. has had so to speak to live from hand to mouth, and any delay in payment has immediately entailed difficulties in the administration of finances. It is probably not possible to effect any considerable economy in expense without prejudice to the tasks which the L.S.I. has to fulfil. Consequently, it will be necessary later on to create the required reserve by other means.

CHAPTER V.

AFFILIATED PARTIES.

The annexed summary is founded, especially as regards the statistical data, for the most part on information received from the Parties themselves.

The figures of *Party Membership* are taken as far as possible from the latest returns. Consequently, the dates of the returns are not uniform throughout.

The same holds good of the membership figures of the *Trade Unions*. Here in the cases where there were no other data available, use was made of the Third Year Book of the I.F.T.U. (1925). Unless otherwise stated, the figures given are those of organisations affiliated to the I.F.T.U.

The membership figures of the *Communist Parties*, unless otherwise stated, are quoted from the Report of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International (English Edition, pp. 268-9).

The *abbreviations* used are as follows:—

For names of official organs:—

(D)—Daily.
(W)—Weekly.

(F)—Fortnightly.
(M)—Monthly.

For the names of representatives in the L.S.I.:—

(E)—Executive member. (B)—Bureau member.

AMERICA (U.S.A).

SOCIALIST PARTY.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | 1901 (1897). |
| Membership | 15,000 (including women). |
| Trade Unions | 3,600,000 (not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.). |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 850. |
| Educational Organisations | Rand School of Social Science, New York. |
| Press | 5 dailies, 17 weeklies, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | <i>The Socialist World</i> . (M). 2653, Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Senate, 0 out of 96. Congress, 2 out of 531. |
| Voting Strength | See details below. (Proportional Representation for men and women.) |
| Party Executive | Chairman : Eugene V. Debs. Secretary : Bertha Hale-White. International Secretary : Morris Hillquit. Head of the Youth Organisation : Aarne J. Parker. Members : Berger, Collins, Harkins, Maurer, Roewer, Sharts. |
| Party Headquarters | 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago. (Bertha Hale-White.) |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Hillquit. (E.) Berger. (E.) |

The American Socialist Party constitutes the class-conscious section within the huge masses of workers in the United States.

The growth of the Socialist Movement in the United States is best exemplified by a survey of the votes polled for the Socialist candidate in the Presidential Elections :—

| | | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1900 .. | 94,768 | 1908 .. | 420,820 | 1916 .. | 585,113 |
| 1904 .. | 402,400 | 1912 .. | 897,011 | 1920 .. | 919,799 |

The Socialist candidate in all the above elections was Debs, with the exception of the 1916 election when Benson was nominated. At the elections of November, 1924, the Party supported the candidature of La Follette, who polled a total of 4,822,319 votes, *i.e.*, 16.6 per cent. of the votes cast. It is difficult to estimate correctly the development of the Party since the 1920 elections, but it can be assumed that at least one million of the votes polled for La Follette were those of Socialists.

A further insight into the Party history is afforded by studying the membership figures :—

| | | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1910 .. | 58,011 | 1915 .. | 79,374 | 1920 .. | 26,766 |
| 1911 .. | 84,716 | 1916 .. | 83,284 | 1921 .. | 13,484 |
| 1912 .. | 118,045 | 1917 .. | 80,379 | 1922 .. | 11,019 |
| 1913 .. | 95,957 | 1918 .. | 82,344 | 1923 .. | 12,000 |
| 1914 .. | 93,579 | 1919 .. | 104,822 | 1924 .. | 12,000 |

The American Labour Movement has been greatly weakened by the confusion which the Communists caused. Though never attaining any real importance themselves, the Communists furnished the American

capitalists with a pretext for launching a frantic attack on the rights and achievements which the working class had secured during the war-time boom. The economic crisis which followed the war gave the capitalists their opportunity and, in addition, all the powers of the State were placed at their disposal. The Socialist Party also suffered by this shock to the entire movement, but since then it has gradually been overcoming its reverses and now again is slowly making headway. Under the leadership of Comrade Eugene V. Debs, who has worked in the Labour Movement for the past 50 years, the Party is to-day united and working hard in the cause of Socialist propaganda amongst the working masses of America.

In accordance with the composition of the American Labour Movement national federations are affiliated to the Party. There is the Yugo-Slavian Federation, at present counting 703 members, the Finnish (2,706 members), the Italian (462 members), the Jewish (516 members), and the Lithuanian (37 members). The Czechs affiliate to the Party as individual members.

The last National Convention of the Party which was held in Cleveland on July 6th, was attended by 200 delegates, 15 of which represented the national federations.

The Socialist Party co-operated in the most remarkable effort of recent years in the history of the American Labour Movement—the attempt to create an American Labour Party. Though temporarily unsuccessful, this effort will not have been ineffective in the long run. The time seemed to be favourable for this great endeavour, since both the big capitalist Parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, had revealed themselves equally compromised by corruption. The “Conference for Progressive Political Action” was formed and this became the centre of a movement for the creation of a “Third Party.”

This organisation supported the independent candidates, La Follette and Wheeler for the Presidential Election in November, 1924. La Follette polled something like 5,000,000 votes, *i.e.*, about 700,000 more than Roosevelt polled in 1912. This result, though satisfactory in itself (one-sixth of the total votes polled) seemed to lag behind the expectations of the supporters of the “Third Party.”

Immediately after the election the Congress of the American Federation of Labour declared itself against the formation of a Third Party. The final decision was taken at the Convention of the C.P.P.A. at Chicago on the 21st and 22nd February, 1925. The convention resolved to found a new Party, but it was to be a “Liberal” Party, linked up with some radical parliamentarians of the old gang. At this juncture the Socialists left the Convention and broke off their relations with the C.P.P.A. The special National Congress which the Socialist Party called together at Chicago during the sittings of the C.P.P.A. issued a manifesto stating that the Party, now as before, would continue its efforts for a genuine, independent and powerful political party of the American workers.

The Parliamentary Elections which were held at the same time as the Primary Presidential Elections resulted in the return to Congress of the two Socialists, one in New York and one in Milwaukee.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

FARMER LABOUR PARTY. Founded 1919. Votes polled, 265,411. No representatives in Parliament.

WORKERS' PARTY. Founded by the Communists in December, 1921; is the legal Communist organisation. Membership not known. Votes polled, 37,008. No Parliamentary representative.

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY. This is a Communist Party which, contrary to the instructions of the Third Congress of the Communist International, did not affiliate to the Workers' Party. No Parliamentary representative.

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY. Founded 1888, was known before the war by the name of its leader, De Leon. It stated its membership in 1912 as 30,000, in 1921 as 4,500. This Party supports the Workers' International Industrial Union (W.I.I.U.), which had split off in 1908 from the anarchist-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) and adopted its present name in 1915; both are committed to the principles of the class struggle and stand for industrial unionism as distinct from craft unionism represented by the American Federation of Labour.

LITERATURE.

The American Labour Year Book. 5th vol. (1923-24.) Published by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

Reports of Party Congresses are published in *The Socialist World*.

ARGENTINE.

SOCIALIST PARTY. (Partido Socialista.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Founded | 1892. |
| Membership | 9,692 (including women). |
| Trade Unions | 120,000. Not affiliated to Amsterdam. |
| Youth Organisations | Isolated Groups. |
| Educational Organisations | Several independent Educational Societies. |
| Press | 2 dailies, 32 weeklies, 1 fortnightly. |
| Official Organ | <i>La Vanguardia</i> (D). Reconquista, 675, Buenos Ayres. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Lower House, 18 out of 156. Upper House, 2 out of 30. |
| Voting Strength | 78,479 at the Presidential Election in 1922. |
| Party Executive | Secretary, Gonzalez Maseda. |
| Party Headquarters | Rivadavia 2089, Buenos Ayres. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Etchegoin. (E.) |

The Socialist Party of the Argentine works in a country predominantly agricultural and scantily populated (covering about 1.2 million square miles), in which large landowners control immense stretches of untilled land, a considerable percentage of the population is illiterate, and the capitalist Parties are politically and morally as debased as they can be. The country is divided into 14 provinces, each with its own Provincial Assembly and its own provincial administration. The Socialist Party has representatives in the Parliaments of the provinces—Buenos Ayres (8), Cordoba and Tucuman. Its chief strength is in the capital, Buenos Ayres.

This fact was illustrated in the most gratifying fashion at the partial elections to the Lower and Upper Houses, which took place in March, 1924, in the capital, Buenos Ayres. At these the Socialist candidate, Comrade Dr. Juan B. Justo, was elected Senator by 80,529 votes against the 70,578 votes of his bourgeois opponent. By the prevailing law the Socialists, as the strongest Party, were allotted 13 out of the 19 seats in the Lower House, and with an average of 77,200 votes they registered a gain in votes of 17,928 as compared with the elections of 1922.

In November, 1924, were held municipal elections in the city and province of Buenos Ayres, at which the Party once more achieved a notable success. In the city of Buenos Ayres it obtained 57,159 out of a total of 170,000 votes as against 49,581 in 1922, thereby increasing its voting strength by 14 per cent., and it holds five out of fifteen seats on the Municipal Council. Still greater, relatively, is the advance in the municipalities of Buenos Ayres Province, where in almost every locality the Party registered a gain, and in many cases, a doubling of its voting strength. In the city of Mar del Plata a majority was achieved.

Also at the elections to the Provincial Assembly of the Province of Buenos Ayres (excluding the city) in March, 1925, the Party made progress and won two fresh seats.

From the 4th to the 6th January, 1925, the Party held at Cordoba an extraordinary congress, which dealt with a revision of its programme of action, the working out of a municipal policy and with the elaboration of guiding principles in the housing question.

The new minimum programme includes especially a demand for nationalisation of the mines and oil wells; for legal measures enabling the State, provinces or municipalities, to alienate ownership of land; the Eight-Hour Day; abolition of the Upper House; direct election of the President and abolition of his right of veto; election of the supreme judges by the people; separation of State and Church; reduction of military service; prohibition of the employment of troops during strikes; measures for the restriction and gradual abolition of alcoholic drinks, and so on.

The Argentine Socialist Party has always watched the International Labour Movement with keen interest and attached great value to keeping constantly in touch with it. At present it is the only important Labour Party in South America which is affiliated to the L.S.I. On the other hand, the Party has also repeatedly and successfully striven to establish and maintain an intimate relation between the Labour Parties of the several South American States (Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, &c.).

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY (3,500 members, no Parliamentary representation). The only seat held by it in the municipal council of Buenos Ayres was lost at the last election.

POALE-ZION. See page 174.

COMMUNIST POALE-ZION.

LITERATURE.

The Socialist Party of the Argentine to the International Congress in Hamburg, Buenos Ayres, 1923 (German, French, English, Spanish).

Reports of Annual Congresses (Spanish).

(The Argentine before the War). Report of the Socialist Party of the Argentine Republic to the International Socialist Congress in Vienna, 1910—1914.

ARMENIA.

ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION "DASHNAKTZOUTIOUN."

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | 1890. |
| Membership | 58,000 (including the emigrants). |
| Trade Unions | About 40,000, before the Bolshevik Occupation of 1920. |
| Youth Organisations | (Students' Societies) 535. |
| Educational Organisations | Some individual groups. |
| Press | 4 dailies, 2 weeklies, 3 papers three times a week, 2 twice a week; 2 monthlies, all appearing abroad. |
| Official Organ | <i>Droschak</i> , 3 Avenue Beau-Séjour, Geneva. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 73 out of 82 in 1920 before the Occupation. |
| Voting Strength | 196,000 in 1920. |
| Party Headquarters | A. Isahakianz, 71 Avenue Kleber, Paris. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | A. Isahakianz. (E.) |

The Party "Dashnaktzoutioun" is the oldest political Party and likewise the only revolutionary organisation of the much-tried Armenian nation. The martyrdom of this nation under Turkish rule is well known. The ever-recurring Armenian massacres have again and again excited the horror and the indignation of the civilised world. During the war the brutality reached the point of a deliberate attempt at the extermination of a whole nation.

After the collapse of the battle-fronts the Armenian people enjoyed a short spell of freedom. From 1918 to 1920 there was an independent Armenian Republic. In it the Federation "Dashnaktzoutioun," as the strongest political party of the working population, had an unchallenged majority among the electors and in Parliament, and held the power. However, before they were really able to set to work on the construction of a modern state on the ruins of the past, of war and of slavery, a fresh thralldom came upon them. The country was occupied by the Russian troops and their Kemalist allies and since then has languished under a twofold foreign rule—partly Russian and partly Turkish. The Bolsheviks immediately initiated a war of extermination against the Party "Dashnaktzoutioun." The Party was declared outlawed, the trade unions and the Press suppressed and the leaders thrown into gaol.

The Report submitted to the Hamburg Congress describing the events in Armenia and the Party's activity from 1914 to 1923, closed with the following words:—

"Far from having been broken by these terrible events the Party still stands erect, active and influential. It has no thought of abandoning the cause of the people, a cause hallowed by rivers of blood, and secure in the sympathy of the whole world. It will continue in the measure of its strength to lead the destinies of Armenian democracy, a democracy crushed between the hammer of the Kemalist oligarchy and the anvil of the Communist Tcheka. The distressing losses that we have suffered throughout seven years of unceasing war, the frightful bloodshed inflicted by the Turks and Bolsheviks have undoubtedly decimated the ranks of the Party; but it renews itself by means of fresh elements from among the intellectuals and the young workers in the great Armenian Diaspora."

The growth in the life of the Party from 1923 until to-day has thoroughly justified this optimistic expectation. The situation at the moment in Armenia may be summarised as follows :—

The Bolsheviks have dropped the system of open terrorism and of executions, the methods have been changed, but the persecution itself remains. A Report on the political situation in Armenia submitted to the last Party Congress (January, 1925), shows that almost all the leaders of the Party are in prison or in banishment. Notwithstanding, the Party's popularity among the people is increasing. "One can scent Dashnaktzoutioun everywhere," said one of the Bolshevik People's Commissaries a little while ago at a meeting. To break down this popularity the Bolsheviks in October, 1923, staged a "Dissolution Congress" of the Party Dashnaktzoutioun. By force and fraud, by bringing forward characters of all kinds as alleged "members" and "representatives" of the Party, a resolution for the dissolution of the Party was manoeuvred; but this farce has been a total failure. This is most clearly proved by the fact that although the Party is supposed to have been wound up for two years past, the Bolshevik papers never cease attacking it afresh from day to day.

The activity of the Party indeed far exceeds the boundaries of Armenia. Wherever the Armenian people, expelled from its native land, has found refuge, the Party possesses powerful organisations, as in Azerbeidjan, Georgia, Persia, Russia, the Balkans, Syria, Egypt, Central and Western Europe and the United States. These organisations everywhere form the strongest element in the public life of the Armenian settlements. They have influence in municipal affairs, and in Syria and Persia even have members in the Parliaments. Moreover, these organisations are provided with a fairly well-developed Press; thus, Party newspapers appear in Syria, Greece, Bulgaria, Egypt and America.

In January, 1925, the Party held its tenth Congress. Since the Party organisations have scattered over all quarters of the globe the arrangement of such a Congress involves enormous material and other difficulties. The Congress proved that the Party organisations after a short period of lassitude, natural through the events of the last few years, are now developing again a live political activity along the whole line. The Party membership is growing everywhere, and the flow of recruits from young workers is especially noticeable. The circulation of the Party Press is also on the increase. After a detailed examination of the political situation in Armenia the Congress laid down the main lines of the Party's policy, based on the principles of national independence, Socialist class-struggle and the conquest of political power by democratic means.

Less satisfactory is the state of the trade union and co-operative organisations in Armenia, which have been partly dissolved and partly remoulded by the Bolsheviks.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY (1,900 members). This figure quoted by the Communist International itself plainly reveals the nature of the Bolshevik rule over the Armenian people; this is exercised by a Party which in the whole of Armenia does not number 2,000 supporters.

LITERATURE.

Events in Armenia and the Work of the Armenian Revolutionary Party Dashnaktzoutioun, 1914—1923, being a Report presented to the International Socialist Congress at Hamburg, May, 1923 (German, French).

L.S.I. Bulletin, 1st year, No. 2.

AUSTRIA.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

(Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in Österreich.)

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Founded | .. in 1899. |
| Membership | .. 566,124 (including 154,190 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | .. 828,088. |
| Youth Organisations | .. 37,868. |
| Educational Organisations | .. Workers' Educational Centre; Socialist School and Educational "Friends of Children" Association. |
| Press | .. 6 dailies, 15 weeklies, 9 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Arbeiter-Zeitung</i> . (D.) Rechte Wienzeile, 97, Vienna, V. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. National Assembly, 68 out of 165. Federal Council, 21 out of 50. |
| Voting Strength | .. 1,311,870 (39.6 per cent.) in October, 1923. (Proportional Representation, men and women.) |
| Party Executive | .. Chairman: Karl Seitz. Members: Friedrich Adler, Friedrich Austerlitz, Otto Bauer, Matthias Eldersch, Wilhelm Ellenbogen, Adelheid Popp, Karl Renner, Jakob Reumann, Josef Tomschik. Secretaries: Ferdinand Skaret, Robert Danneberg, Julius Deutsch. |
| Party Headquarters | .. Rechte Wienzeile, 97, Vienna, V. |
| Representatives in the L.S.I. | .. Bauer (E.B.) Skaret. (E.) |

In respect of organisation Austrian Socialism can point to an encouraging development during the last two years. During the past year it has registered an increase of membership of 51,851, and now includes every twelfth inhabitant of Austria, being thus, in proportion to the population, relatively the strongest party within the International. Out of trade union members 63.1 per cent., and out of the aggregate of Socialist electors 43.15 per cent. are organised within the Party. In Vienna alone it has in round numbers 300,000 members, of whom 67,300 (33.8 per cent.) were newly added during the past year, the increase among male members being 26.3 per cent., among women 55 per cent. Every fifth adult inhabitant of Vienna is organised as a Socialist.

This advance was achieved at a time which politically and economically has produced the most formidable obstructions to the rise of the working class. In the autumn of 1922 began the "reconstruction" of Austria on capitalist lines. The Austrian bourgeoisie under the Clerical Government of Seipel, sold the nation's independence in return for a loan and submitted to the dictation of international finance, which appeared in the guise of financial control and cloaked by the authority of the League of Nations. Against this policy of humiliation Austrian Socialism has fought from the first with all its strength. It has striven against the pettiness and narrowness of spirit, with which the Finance Committee of the League of Nations and their appointed High Commissioner have treated the "reconstruction" as a mere arithmetical problem of State finance, leaving wholly out of account any consideration not only for cultural requirements but even for the economical life of

the country. The result of all this can be seen in the appalling fact that unemployment in Austria is worse to-day than it was even at the time of the most dire economic and social disturbance immediately following the war: after two and a half years' of reconstruction one in every five workers in Austria is out of work! But the Austrian bourgeoisie has not only managed to devolve on to the working masses the heaviest part of the burden of reconstruction, it has also endeavoured, finding ready sympathy in this in the foreign controlling bodies, to wrest from the workers their social and political conquests. Against this interference of the international financiers in aid of reaction at home, Austrian Socialism has steadily stood for the rights and liberties of the working people. Indeed, the Party has waged this fight not merely defensively, but also positively by means of a real constructive policy, giving an example of a social and democratic administration. The Party controls the Municipality of Vienna, in whose City Council it holds a majority of nearly two-thirds, and which is the only town in the world of over one million inhabitants with a Labour administration. Under Socialist rule, Vienna has risen anew; its school and welfare system, its housing policy, its municipal services, its system of taxation, &c., are exemplary. Through the peculiarity of the Austrian Federal Constitution, moreover, the position of Vienna is a very strong one, and the contrast between the bourgeois national administration and the Socialist municipal administration, has in this fashion taken on a political significance quite out of the ordinary; and the City of Vienna with its model administration and extensive reconstruction work forms to-day one of the strongest buttresses of the working class in Austria.

The above account will make it clear why, despite the fearful economic conditions, the working masses remained faithful to Socialism, their unchallenged leader. At the elections held on 21st October, 1923, Socialism drew to itself two-fifths of the whole aggregate vote, the Socialist Party polling 1,311,870 votes, 240,000 more than at the previous elections, 100,000 more than even at the first elections in 1919, which were held under the shadow of the Revolution, and obtained 68 out of 165 seats (as against previous total of 69 out of 183). Nevertheless, since the stronger bourgeois party, the Christian Socialists, on the same occasion won seats at the expense of the quite decimated German Nationalists, the Government was left in bourgeois hands. At the simultaneously held elections for the Vienna Municipal Council, the Socialists won 78 out of 120 seats. In other Federal districts also, municipal elections brought success. In the Autumn of 1924 the Government was remodelled. The new Government (Ramek) took as its main task the settlement of relationship between the Federal State and its constituent provinces.

For Socialism, apart from the concern for the victims of the wretched economic conditions, it is the fight for the maintenance of a democratic and republican character in the forces of defence, the fight against clericalism and class justice, and the problem of getting a grip on the agricultural worker, which stand in the forefront of political interest. The activity of Socialism extends to all branches and spheres of the workers' movement. It stands in the closest connection with the trade unions and the co-operative societies. It has built up a wide educational organisation, which concerns itself also with making Art accessible to the workers. It has now started to organise a workers' college, and has at its side, in addition to the Youth Organisation, and in fruitful collaboration with the latter, a great organisation of Socialist Education for Children and a large Workers' Sports Association. For the defence of its democratic and social gains, the Party has brought into being a

well-disciplined exclusively working-class body, the Republican Guard, through whose vigilance every attempt by the bourgeoisie to build up for itself a Fascist section, and all blows by the reaction against the young Republic, have failed miserably.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY (Membership is not quoted by the Communist International).
Received at the last election 22,164 votes (0.67 per cent.) and no seat.
For POALE-ZION see page 174.

LITERATURE.

Reports of Annual Congresses. (In German.)
Reports of the Socialist Group in Parliament. (German.)
Otto Bauer, "The Austrian Revolution," Vienna, 1923. (English and German.)
Robert Danneberg, "The Potentialities of Socialism in Austria," Vienna, 1924. (German.)
Danneberg, "Socialist Municipal Administration in Vienna," Berlin, 1925. (German; an English edition in preparation.)

AUSTRIA.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. (Cesko slov. soc-dem. strany delnicka v Republice Rakouské)

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Founded | .. In 1876. |
| Membership | .. 14,200. |
| Trade Union Membership | .. Included in the Austrian Trade Unions. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 3,100. |
| Educational Organisations | .. In existence. |
| Press | .. 1 daily, 2 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Delnické Listy</i> . (D.) 7 Margarethenplatz, Vienna, V. |
| Parliamentary Representation .. | .. None. Two out of 120 representatives in Vienna Diet elected on the Austrian Socialist lists. |
| Voting Strength | .. Included in the poll of the Austrian Socialists. |
| Party Executive | .. Chairman: Lesak. Members: Filar, Drahozal, Kopecka, Skranc, Zednicek, Cizek, Holic, Strnad. Secretary: Skrivan. |
| Party Headquarters | .. 7, Margarethenplatz, Vienna V. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. Congress Delegation. |

There has been left in Vienna from the times of the Austrian Monarchy a Czech Minority, which has certainly decreased since the rise of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, seeing that not only has the flow from Czecho-Slovakia to Vienna stopped, but also numerous Czechs have emigrated. Within the Czech Minority the workers are strongly predominant. These workers possess an old and good organisation, which for decades past has worked hand in hand with German-Austrian Socialism. Its newspaper, *Delnické Listy*, has been appearing for 36 years, and will this year celebrate its 25th anniversary as a daily. The Party has also built up for itself an educational organisation.

The position of the Czecho-Slovakian workers in the capital of the Austrian Republic, which otherwise is a single national unit, is on a small scale undoubtedly a political problem. Towards the solution of this the Party has devised a clear line of action, which defines its attitude. At the last Congress of the Party, which took place in April, 1925, Comrades Machat and Vavrousek, introducing the report on the activity of the Party, stated that the Party politically stood side by side with Austrian Socialism in a united front, as demanded by the common interests of the German and Czech workers. On other questions the Party does not evade collaboration with the remaining Parties of the Czecho-Slovakian Minority, in so far as the Socialist programme is not thereby involved. In accordance with this principle the Party, at the last general election, invited their followers to vote for the Austrian Socialist candidates, and its representatives stood, at the elections to the Vienna Diet, on joint lists with the Austrian Socialists.

The Party is staking all its strength, in union with the Austrian Socialists, in defending the strong position of the working class in the Austrian Republic, and on waging the fight against Clericalism. Its

special care is given to the school organisation for the Czecho-Slovakian Minority in Vienna. It also aids the Socialist Municipality in Vienna in its constructive work in the interests of the working class.

On other sides the Party also maintains intimate relations with the great sister organisation of the Socialists in Czecho-Slovakia.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See page 119.

Amongst the Vienna Czecho-Slovakian Minority there is also a small National Socialist Group (Klofac-Party), as well as some Communists, who make up a small section of the Communist Party of Austria.

LITERATURE.

Reports of Annual Congresses.

BELGIUM.

LABOUR PARTY.
(Parti Ouvrier Belge.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Founded | In 1885. |
| Membership | 621,559, of whom 88,960 are women. (Trade Unions and Co-operatives are affiliated collectively.) |
| Trade Union Membership | 594,998. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 35,000. |
| Educational Organisations | Workers' Educational Centre; Workers' College. |
| Press | 8 dailies, 29 weeklies, 7 fortnightlies, 29 monthlies, 7 others. |
| Official Organ | <i>Le Peuple</i> . (D.) 35, Rue des Sables, Brussels. |
| Parliamentary Representation | In the Chamber, 79 out of 187. Upper House, 59 out of 153. |
| Voting Strength | 820,650 (39.44 per cent.) in April, 1925. (Proportional Representation. Male Suffrage.) |
| Party Executive | General Council: Vandervelde, de Brouckère, J. Wauters, Bouchery, Delattre, Mme. Spaak, Debunne, Fesler, Van Belle, Balthazar, Vandemeulebroeck. General Secretary: J. Van Roosbroeck. |
| Party Headquarters | Maison du Peuple, Rue Joseph Stevens, 17, Brussels. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | de Brouckère, (E.B.), van Roosbroeck, (E.). |

In August, 1925, the Belgian Labour Party will celebrate its fortieth birthday. Its constitution was laid down by the Congress of Antwerp, August 15th and 16th, 1885; however, the foundation of the Party dates in reality from the Preparatory Congress at Brussels, 5th and 6th April, 1885. It is a historical coincidence that on the same day, 40 years later, the 5th April, 1925, the Party should have won the greatest victory known in the history of the Belgian working class, rich as it is in struggles and conquests, and one of the greatest electoral successes ever scored by a Socialist Party under Proportional Representation. Having won more than 148,000 votes (22 per cent.) and with a strength of 79 (as against 68) members of the Chamber, the Belgian Labour Party has become the strongest political Party in the country.

This victory was the fruit of a model organisation and of tireless propagandist activity and education. In 1921 when the Socialists left the Coalition Government, within which they had worked for the reconstruction of the country after the ruin caused by the war, they left behind them a superb achievement of social reform, in particular the Eight-Hour Day, freedom of combination, universal suffrage, a just incidence of taxation, and the establishment of an emergency fund for unemployment.

Moreover, their resignation came about as a result of an act of international solidarity. It was caused by the presence of a Socialist Minister at the demonstration in which the Belgian workers replied to the Nationalist attack on a meeting at La Louvière, at which for the first time since the war a German Socialist had spoken in Belgium.

The elections which followed brought into power a Clerical-Liberal Coalition, which for four years was to drag along from one crisis to another. The results of its policy upon the domestic life of the country were higher cost of living and a fall in the value of the franc. In foreign politics it resulted in the participation of Belgium in the costly adventure of the Ruhr, in spite of the resolute opposition of the Socialists. Against this policy the Belgian Labour Party put forward definite working-class claims at its congresses and in its political programme. The Easter Congress in 1924 worked out the electoral platform for the Party; in particular it inserted the following: reduction of military expenditure, defence of the Eight-Hour Day, and ratification of the Washington Convention, social insurance, free pensions, prolongation of the Rent Restriction Act, and a policy of intensive building of cheap houses, extension of protective Labour legislation, regulation of farm leases, a progressive utilisation by the community of coalfields as yet not exploited, &c.

This programme not only brought to the Party the support of the manual workers and of a large number of intellectual workers, but it also—a fact very disquieting for its Clerical adversaries—gave it an entry among the rural population. It brought Socialism into the villages, and thus ensured a brilliant success. The Chamber resulting from the elections of the 5th April, 1925, consists of:—79 Socialists (as against 68), 78 Clericals (as against 80), 22 Liberals (as against 33), 6 Front Party (Flemish Nationalists—as against 4), 2 Communists (as against 0).

The proportion between the middle-class and working-class Parties thus changed in favour of the latter, and it was the Liberals in particular who had to suffer. The Belgian Labour Party, as the strongest group, was first asked to form a Government. It attempted to find a common basis with the democratic elements of the Clericals and of the Liberal Left, but failed. After a lingering crisis, when unsuccessful efforts were made by all Parties to form a Government, the Labour Party, on the authorisation of its National Council, finally entered a Coalition Government in June, 1925.

From the point of view of organisation the Belgian Labour Party constitutes a perfect model of co-operation and unity between all the branches of working-class activity: political organisations, trade unions, co-operative societies, friendly societies, &c. The Party is built up as a federation of district organisations, which in their turn link up the trade unions, co-operative groups, friendly societies and political groups. A noteworthy point is the important part played by the co-operative societies in the organisation of the Party; they hold in it a place which gives them a much larger share in the Labour Movement than in any other country. The Co-operative element has given to the Labour, trade union and political movement the necessary equipment of premises by setting up everywhere workers' clubs, in which the whole political, economic and educational activity of the workers is concentrated.

All these model centres, which during about forty years the Belgian working classes have managed to bring into being, were visited by the delegates of the International at the invitation of the Belgian Labour Party following of the International meeting in Brussels, January, 1925. This impressive visit to the world of Belgian Labour, inspired in all those

who took part in it the deep conviction that the forward march of the Belgian working class towards the supremacy of Labour is irresistible.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

There is a COMMUNIST PARTY (590 members according to the Communist International). At the last elections this Party received 34,147 votes (1.64 per cent.), which gave to it two seats in the Chamber.

LITERATURE.

Emile Vandervelde: The Belgian Labour Party, 1885—1925. Brussels, 1925. (In French.)

Reports of Annual Congresses. (Fully documented; in French.)

Monthly Bulletin of the Belgian Labour Party. (In French.)

BRITISH GUIANA.

LABOUR UNION.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Founded | In 1919. |
| Membership | 1,073 (of whom 341 are women). |
| Trade Unions | Identical with the Party. |
| Membership of Youth Organisation | 33. |
| Educational Organisations | None. |
| Party Press | None. |
| Parliamentary Representation | None. |
| Voting Strength | None. (Restricted Franchise.) |
| Secretary | H. Critchlow. |
| Party Headquarters | 142, Regent Street, Lacytown, Georgetown. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Congress Delegation. |

Politically and economically British Guiana comes under the category of a small colony. In the port of Georgetown, which is also the capital, the first and only Labour organisation in this corner of South America was founded in the year 1919. By its energy in defending the interests of the workers, particularly the dockers, it quickly developed into a factor with which not only employers, but also the Government authorities of the colony would have to reckon.

The British Guiana Labour Union comprises both white and coloured workers, and is Party and Trade Union in one. Its object is protection of the worker against the exploitation which is common in such colonies, and is further aggravated by the difference of race, as well as the achievement of general social reforms. The Union has already been successful in both these directions and particularly in conducting several strike movements.

According to the constitution of the colony the right either to elect or to be elected to the administrative body is dependent on property qualifications, and therefore the Union has, as yet, no parliamentary representative. Neither is there any Party paper so far, but the Union hopes to be able to create a Labour organ at an early date.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

None.

BULGARIA.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | 1893. |
| Membership | 26,652 and 1,400 members of the Socialist Women's Organisation. |
| Trade Unions | 15,000 (and 35,000 not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.) |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 2,109. |
| Educational Organisations | Three People's Universities. |
| Press | 2 dailies, 9 weeklies, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Narod</i> (D.), 22 Rue Lomska, Sofia. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 29 out of 245. |
| Voting Strength | 638,675 (61 per cent.) for the Government Block, including the Social-Democrats in November, 1923. (Proportional Representation with over-representation of majorities, men only.) |
| Party Executive | Janko Sakasoff, Krestju Pastuchoff, Dr. P. Dschidroff, H. Christoff, D. Kasasoff, P. Welitschkoff, G. Tschesmedschief, K. Lultscheff. |
| | Secretary: D. Neikoff. |
| Party Headquarters | D. Neikoff, 22, Rue Lomska, Sofia. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Sakasoff. (E.) |

Immediately before the Great War, Bulgaria had already gone through two not less bloody wars. Exhausted and shattered by the Great War, treated with extreme harshness by the victors, this little country has since failed to return to peaceful conditions. During the last two years particularly it has been the scene of internal crises, on which every effort of the Socialist Party to steer the country again into calmer waters, has hitherto been wrecked.

On the 9th June, 1923, the whole city population rose against Stambulisky's dictatorship, which under the guise of rule by the peasants (who form the majority of the population) had set up in reality a corrupt and terrorist minority régime, marked by an abuse of the franchise. The Socialist Party as such were not concerned in the *coup d'état*, though certain leading Socialists were personally privy to it. After the fall of Stambulisky, who was killed after his capture, the Party resolved to recognise the accomplished facts. Its member, Kasasoff, who had been a party to the *coup d'état*, was allowed to remain in the newly-formed Tsankoff Government, with the purpose of guiding the new régime as far as possible along the path of democracy. Although the influence of the Party upon the Government was not very strong—out of ten Ministers it only provided one—yet it succeeded in keeping the reactionary National Liberals out of the Government and in mitigating various harsh measures.

In September, 1923, the friends of Stambulisky and the Communists in league with them attempted an insurrection, which was suppressed with bloodshed. In the course of the civil war there occurred regrettable

excesses, but the Socialist Party, more than anyone, have exerted all their strength to avoid needless sacrifice.

On the 18th November, 1923, general elections were held on the basis of the prevailing undemocratic franchise. The Stambulisky electoral system forced the Socialist Party into a coalition with the other Government Parties. This Government Block obtained 638,675 votes and 202 seats, the Peasants' Union and the Communists together 217,607 votes and 40 seats (31 for the Peasants' Party, 9 for the Communists), and the National Liberals 136,507 votes and 7 seats. Out of the Government Coalition seats 29 fell to the Socialist Party.

During the subsequent course of events, the standing threat to the peace of the country by the Communists and the Peasants' Union, drove the Government more and more towards reaction, and it lost in growing measure the sympathies of the true democratic elements among its former supporters. After its reactionary character had become more and more clearly exposed, the Socialist Party was unable to maintain any further partnership with it, and in February, 1924, seceded from the Government. At the Conference of the Balkan Socialist Parties meeting in Bucharest in March, 1924, at which the Party explained its political line of action, it was able simultaneously to announce that it had repudiated the Government and gone over to the Opposition.

However, its efforts to help Bulgaria towards internal peace and democratic evolution remained fruitless. The economic situation continued to be unfavourable, the wages of the manual and professional workers continued very low, and any Government expenditure for productive or cultural purposes was virtually impossible. The treaties of peace have not only burdened Bulgaria with heavy Reparation obligations, but by the arbitrary frontiers drawn, have created the real and lasting causes of all the crises and disturbances by which Bulgaria is afflicted; that is to say, the burden of the refugees, the political tension between Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia and the Macedonian problem, which issued in a series of ever-recurrent political assassinations. As to the existence of these conditions, pregnant with fresh mischief, Comrade Vandervelde was able to convince himself during his tour of the country in August and September, 1924.

Meanwhile, the tyrannical actions of the Government grew harsher, their opponents also were rousing for a fresh blow. In April, 1925, there came about a new and sanguinary civil war, which, after the terrible bomb outrage in the Cathedral in Sofia, was conducted by the Government with ruthless brutality. The Socialist Party issued an appeal to the population protesting against terrorism and bloodshed on both sides. In Parliament the Socialists were the only Party to vote against the imposition of martial law.

In these difficult circumstances the development of the Party with respect to its organisation, can be considered very satisfactory. At the District Council elections of the 4th May, 1924, the Party came forward independently for the first time since its resignation from the Government, and although putting up candidates in only a part of the districts obtained 54,287 votes. At the Municipal elections about 1,200 Socialist municipal representatives were elected. The Party membership has been rising steadily during recent years. At the present time the Party possesses 1,164 branches, 79 in the towns and 1,085 in the villages; that is to say, it has gained a footing in all the towns and in one-third of all the villages in the country, and is making, particularly among the country people, most promising headway.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY (Membership at present unknown because illegal. Originated from the so-called "Narrow-Minded Party," whilst the "Broad-minded" form the Socialist Party of to-day.) Up to the *coup d'état* of 1923 the majority of the workers in Bulgaria were Communist. After the September rising of 1923 the Communist Party was dissolved and prohibited. Immediately after the rising of April, 1925, the Communist Deputies, two of whom had been murdered in the interim, were expelled from Parliament.

LITERATURE.

Assen Tsankoff : "Bulgaria after the Revolution," in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, 1924, No. 2. (In German).

Bulletin of the L.S.I., 1st year, No. 2.

Vandervelde : The Balkans and Peace, Brussels, 1925 (in French). See also pages 38 to 45 of this Report.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. (Ceskoslovenska Sociálna Demokratická Strana Delnicka.)

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|--|
| Founded | .. .. . | In 1872. |
| Membership | .. .. . | 116,062 (including 19,671 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | .. .. . | 324,179 Czecho-Slovakia Trade Unions affiliated to Amsterdam; (in addition, various organisations making up a total of 936,595 are not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.). |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 4,515. | (Form a section of the Party). |
| Educational Organisations | .. .. . | Workers' Academy in Prague; Association of Workers' Athletic Clubs (100,000 members). |
| Press | .. .. . | 5 dailies, 28 weeklies; 2 papers appearing three times and 3 appearing twice a week; 1 fortnightly; 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | .. .. . | <i>Pravo Lidu</i> . (D.) 7 Hybernska, Prague, II. |
| Party Executive | .. .. . | Hon. President : A. Nemec. President : A. Hampl. Vice-Presidents : J. Nosek, K. Kindl. Treasurer : Bozena Eckstein. Members : R. Bechyne, J. Prokes, L. Pik, Dr. A. Meissner, W. Broz, Dr. I. Derer. Secretaries : J. Marek, A. Novak, F. Janik. |
| Party Headquarters | .. .. . | 7 Hybernska, Prague, II. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. .. . | Lower House, 54 out of 294. Upper House, 35 out of 248. |
| Voting Strength | .. .. . | 1,590,000 (25.5 per cent.) in April, 1920, before the split in the Party. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | .. .. . | Nemec. (E.). Substitute : Soukup. |

The Czecho-Slovakian Socialists have, since the foundation of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, considered it their task to further the interests of the working class by energetic co-operation in the building up and management of the State. They are the only Socialist Party who, since 1918 (apart from a brief interval filled by a non-Party Cabinet of officials), have participated in the Government of their country. The results of this policy of practical realisation are expressed in the fact that democracy in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic has become secure and safeguarded against all attacks, and that in its social policy Czecho-Slovakia to-day ranks among the most progressive of European States. The Czech worker has the Eight-Hour Day (Czecho-Slovakia has ratified the Washington Convention), and a law providing for works' councils; and the best evidence for Czecho-Slovakian Socialism is this, that even during the last two years, in a period when elsewhere in Europe reaction was mainly in the ascendant, it was possible to secure two notable social institutions : social insurance (old age and sickness insurance) and paid leisure for workers. Moreover, thanks to socialist pressure, the foreign policy of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic has proved a factor of some importance in the maintenance of European peace.

During the troubled years, in which the erection of the new Czecho-Slovak State was completed, this policy of the Socialist Party was bound to lead it, again and again, into difficult waters. On the one hand it came up against the extravagant expectations attached by some sections of the working class to the revolution of 1918, which were now being used by the communists to throw discredit, in the eyes of the workers, upon the Social-Democratic Party for making too many concessions to the bourgeoisie. For a while, indeed, the communists managed to win over considerable elements of the workers; but with time, enlightenment and disillusion have done their work, so that to-day Czech socialism, having overcome temporary set-backs, is once more steadily advancing, whilst the Communist Party is in utter disorganisation and is losing ground from day to day.

On the other hand, as a Government Party, Czech socialists were bound to come into collision also, to some extent with the workers' parties of other nationalities within the Czecho-Slovak Republic, which adopted an attitude of opposition towards the State. At the Party Congress of Moravska Ostrava (Mährisch Ostrau) in April, 1924, which studied this problem, one of the Party's leaders, Dr. Meissner, declared that Czech socialists keenly desired to see the German Socialist Party in Czecho-Slovakia a strong party, and that, though neither could easily give up its position, one in the Government, the other in Opposition, yet mutual understanding and preparations for the common task were both possible and necessary, as was already the case particularly in the sphere of trade union and co-operative effort. And the Chairman emphasised that the hard necessity of the class-struggle, which has already in social fights united the two Parties, would also group them together in respect of politics.

In organisational relations the Party, as well as the workers' organisations standing in unison with it, has lately made noteworthy progress. This is especially the case with the workers' educational bodies and with the Association of Workers' Athletic Clubs. The strength of the Party has been splendidly confirmed by the municipal elections which took place on the 16th September, 1923, and brought the Party about 500,000 votes. Also a series of local elections, which after this period took place in the course of 1924 and 1925, has had the same favourable results, so that the Party awaits calmly, in consciousness of its power, the approaching parliamentary elections.

The Party suffered a painful loss by the death of Comrade Vlastimil Tusar, who had been the first Socialist Premier of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, and who died, mourned by workers of all nationalities, on the 22nd March, 1924, at Berlin.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY (see page 132).

MAGYAR SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY (see page 135).

POLISH SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY (see page 136).

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY OF CARPATHIAN-RUSSIA (see page 137). The four mentioned Parties are affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International.

THE SOCIALIST UNION arose in 1922 through the union of the "Independent Socialists" (Brodecky Group), who had broken away from the Czecho-Slovakian Social-Democratic Party with the Vrbensky Group, itself split off from the National Socialist Party. The Socialist Union was represented at the Hamburg Congress and joined the L.S.I. In the autumn of 1924 the Group Brodecky decided to leave the Socialist Union and to return to the Socialist Party; the reunion was formally completed in October, 1924. The remaining small remnant of the Socialist Union (Vrbensky) opened relations with the Communists, and no longer belongs to the L.S.I.

COMMUNIST PARTY: It had, according to its own estimate in November, 1924, about 130,000 members, of whom 95,814 (69 per cent.) were Czech and 29,000 (21 per cent.) were German. The number of votes cannot be established, as the split occurred after the elections of 1920; in Parliament it counts at present 23 in the Lower House and 8 in the Upper. In March, 1925, the Party reached a difficult crisis. Several representatives left it and founded an "Independent Communist Party." The internal struggles and convulsions of the Party continue.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY (*Klofac*), (111,122 members), obtained at the last elections 500,821 votes (11.7 per cent.), and 27 seats. The Party belongs to the Coalition Government. Its request for admission to the L.S.I. was rejected at the Hamburg Congress (see proceedings of the Hamburg Congress, page 43). It stands in the closest union with a group of Trade Unions which are not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.

LITERATURE.

"The Answer of the Delegation of the Czecho-Slovakian Social-Democratic Labour Party at the International Socialist Congress at Hamburg to the Memorandum of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic," Hamburg, 1923. (English, French, German).

"The Czecho-Slovakian Socialist." (Information sheet, in German), appears in Prague; a "Bulletin Socialiste Tchecoslovaque" (Czech Socialist News Sheet) appears in French in Paris.

Proceedings of Annual Congresses (Czech).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.
(Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in der tschechoslovakischen Republik.)

| | |
|---|--|
| Founded | .. In 1919. |
| Membership | .. 72,209 (including 19,305 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | .. 217,149 (German Trade Unions). |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 7,255. |
| Educational Organisations | Workers' Educational Centre; " Friends of Children " Workers' League; Workers' Athletic and Sports Association. |
| Press | .. 7 dailies, 1 paper three times a week, 5 twice a week; 3 weeklies; 2 fortnightlies. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Sozialdemokrat</i> . (D.) 18 Nekazanka, Prague II. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. Lower House, 30 out of 294. Upper House, 17 out of 148. |
| Voting Strength | .. 689,201 (11.1 per cent.) in April, 1920, before the split in the Party. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | .. President: Dr. Czech. Vice-Presidents: Hillebrand and Kremser. Treasurer: Dr. Carl Heller. Members: Blatny, Burock, Hackenberg, Hofbauer, Jaksch, Jokl, Kögler, Niessner, Pohl, Poelzl, Schäfer, Schlossnickl, Schweichhardt, De Witte. Secretary: S. Taub. |
| Party Headquarters | .. 18 Nekazanka, Prague II. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | .. Czech. (E.). |

The position of the German workers in Czecho-Slovakia has been exhaustively stated to the International in the Memorandum laid before the Hamburg Congress. The German workers have been incorporated in the Czecho-Slovakian State not by their own free will, but by a decree of foreign authorities; however, at their Congress in Teplitz-Schönau (1919) the Party had already declared its intention of fighting its battle within the State, into which historical events had thrust it, putting forward, at the same time, a demand for the national autonomy of all nations within the Czecho-Slovakian State. This demand was set out in a well-elaborated programme which, if realised, would be the only way to mitigate the injustice which has attached to this State ever since its origin. This injustice consists in the fact that, as is clearly shown by the statistics of the population, there is in question here a State of mixed nationalities, which, however, is treated by the ruling nation as though it were a single national unit. From this cardinal defect spring all the innumerable petty wrongs and annoyances, from which those sections of the population not belonging to the Czech ruling nation have to suffer, especially in all branches of administration, in educational affairs and in general from the arbitrary conduct of the authorities. But whilst the German bourgeoisie manages nevertheless to make easy terms with the Czech authorities, the main burden of these denials of justice and handicaps falls upon the shoulders of the German workers.

GIACOMO MATTEOTTI.



Murdered by the Fascists on the 10th June, 1924.

Unhappily, during the past two years this state of things has altered but little. On the contrary, it has grown worse, as by the peculiar machinery of the Czecho-Slovakian Coalition régime, and the procedure of its Parliament, the real power of decision in all political affairs belongs neither to the Parliament nor to the Government, but is in the hands of the Committee of Five of the Coalition Parties. Against this exclusion of the Opposition from any influence on the most important parliamentary proceedings, the German Socialists have entered a protest by absenting themselves from the sittings of Parliament during the discussion on the Budget in November, 1924; the other Opposition Parties have also joined in this action. The Party defended this step before the public in an appeal to the German working people and in a declaration made in Parliament by its leader, Dr. Czech, in which it is affirmed that the Czecho-Slovakian State, which was founded on democratic and socialist promises, is falling more and more under the control of a capitalist class which is dominating unchecked. How completely this ascendancy, accompanied as it is by far-reaching corruption in the bureaucracy and in bourgeois politics, is reducing to a mere semblance the democracy laid down in the constitution, is proved most clearly by the limitation of freedom of the Press, by petty persecutions, which have found another weapon in a new reactionary Press Act.

Under these circumstances the Party is compelled to wage in the most difficult conditions a stubborn and laborious fight in defence of the German workers' rights. This fight is directed equally against oppression by the authorities and against exploitation by the Czech and German bourgeoisie, at once against the misleading of the workers by the Communists and against the incitement of their nationalist instincts by the "Yellow" reaction. In particular the daily struggle against those who take advantage of the discontent of the German workers either to propagate bolshevist illusions or to stimulate nationalist agitation, is realised by the Party as being its chief and most difficult, but at the same time as its historical task, by the fulfilment of which alone it can preserve the fighting strength of the German proletariat of Bohemia. In this self-abnegating fulfilment of its duty, and in this educational mission, the Party has indeed marked successes to record. The Communist assault upon the organisations of the German workers, conducted on the Communist side in the most unscrupulous fashion, has been beaten off; Socialism has maintained intact the considerable power which it safeguarded from the break-up. Still it is true that the Communist schism has done its mischievous work, in that many workers recoiling in disillusionment from the Communists relapse into indifference, out of which Socialist effort has to rouse them anew, or else run the risk of succumbing to the blandishments of the Nationalists.

On the organisational side the Party's position is complicated by the circumstance that there are no German workers resident in Prague, the political centre of the country, where the official organ of the Party has to be published. The regions of German settlement are especially North, West, and East Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, so that the Party's sphere of action extends, very much to its disadvantage, along the whole far-flung border of Czecho-Slovakia.

German Socialism in Czecho-Slovakia, which, so soon after its birth as an independent Party and at the very moment when it needed him most, lost its irreplaceable leader, Seliger, has recently undergone a further severe loss, when on 30th October, 1924, the Party Secretary Karl Cermak, died at a comparatively early age.

Hitherto, unfortunately, it has not been possible to establish co-operation between the Socialist Parties of the country. It is true that the

relationship of the German Socialist Party towards the Hungarian and Polish Socialists is an entirely friendly one. On the other hand, its relations with Czecho-Slovakian Socialists have unfortunately still failed to improve. The necessity of waging a more and more resolute fight against the Coalition, of which the Czech Socialists also form part, has especially in recent times widened the breach afresh.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See pages 130 and 131.

LITERATURE.

Memorandum of the German Socialist Labour Party in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic to the International Socialist Congress in Hamburg, 1923. (In English, French and German.)

Proceedings of Annual Congresses. (In German).

Socialist Bulletin (published in Prague). (In German).

Reports of the Activity of the German Socialist Group in the Czecho-Slovakian Parliament. (In German).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

MAGYAR SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

(Csehszlovák köztársaság magyar szociáldemokrata Munkáspárt.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1921. |
| Membership | 3,060 (including women). |
| Trade Unions | Included in the Czech Trade Unions. |
| Youth Organisations | None. |
| Educational Organisations | Individual local Education Committees. |
| Press | 1 weekly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Munkásujrás</i> . (W.). 7 Venturgasse, Bratislava. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Lower House, 3 out of 294. Upper House, none out of 148. |
| Voting Strength | 218,000 in April, 1920, before the split in the Party. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Headquarters | 7 Venturgasse, Bratislava. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Congress Delegation. |

The Hungarian Socialist Party in Czecho-Slovakia is fighting in that part of the State formerly belonging to Hungary, namely, Slovakia, in the worst circumstances imaginable.

The district is predominantly agricultural, industrial development in its very infancy, the population culturally very backward, dominated by the Catholic clergy, and racially disintegrated into the bargain. Every movement in the Magyar minority is moreover suspected and suppressed by the Czecho-Slovakian authorities, and since the powers in the hands of the authorities in Slovakia are even beyond control of the central government in Prague, the Hungarian Labour Movement is peculiarly subject to the oppression and petty tyrannies of even the most subordinate official. Many comrades who offer their services to the Party are persecuted or, under the legal provisions current in Slovakia, and for a long time past ill-defined, are simply deported. The restrictions of the liberty of the Press are also employed assiduously against the Party.

To this must be added the aftermath of the communist split, which naturally in a country so undeveloped, with a working class which to a great extent began to take its first steps forward only after the war, has wrought exceptionally serious mischief. For a while it seemed as if the communists had carried with them a majority of the workers, but this transient high tide of bolshevism very soon ebbed away in disillusionment, in internal dissensions, and in a muddy wave of corruption, so that to-day nothing remains of it save the ruins of shattered organisations, out of which socialism has very gradually to rally the workers from the indifference to which they have fallen and to rebuild the Party anew. Under these tremendous handicaps of having to fight at once against Communists and Clericals, the rate of development of the Party remains extremely gradual. This is all the more the case since the three Socialist Labour Parties in Czecho-Slovakia—the Czecho-Slovakian, the German and the Magyar—move in isolation and frequently enough against one another.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See pages 130 and 131.

LITERATURE.

Bulletin of the Vienna Union, 1st year, No. 4.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

POLISH SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY. (Polska Socjalistyczna Partya Robotnicza.)

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Founded | .. In 1921. |
| Membership | .. 2,000 (including 200 women). |
| Trade Unions | .. 3,500. (Polish). |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 1,500. |
| Educational Organisations .. | .. In existence. |
| Press | .. 1 daily, 1 weekly, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Robotnik Slaski</i> . (D.). 24, Rynek, Frysztat. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. None. |
| Voting Strength | .. At the time of the Parliamentary elections in Czecho-Slovakia in April, 1920, the Czech-Polish frontier was still not defined; since the existence of the Party no elections have taken place. |
| Party Executive | .. President: O. Steffek. Vice-President: O. Bonczek. Members: Wojcik, Ogrodzki, Sembol, Kwietniowski, Lizak, Pajor, Grabka, Pustowska, Molinek, Sinda, Sliz, Guzior, Czekowicz, Delong. Secretary: O. Lukosz. |
| Party Headquarters | .. Hotel Unger, Karwina. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. Congress Delegation. |

The position of the small Polish minority in Czecho-Slovakia is most unfavourable in that not only is it in proportion to the remaining nationalities inferior in numbers, but in addition the frontier between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland in its territory was for a long time in dispute, and the relations between the two States for a time very strained. Similarly as is the case with the other national minorities in Czecho-Slovakia, the Poles have to carry on a struggle for the recognition of their minority rights, especially in cultural and educational matters.

Within the Polish minority the Polish workers, especially the miners of the Karwin District, form a considerable block. The representative of the interests of these workers is the Polish Socialist Party in Czecho-Slovakia, which endeavours, both with the remaining Labour Parties of Czecho-Slovakia, especially the Czech Socialists, and also the Socialists in Poland (P.S.P.) to collaborate on a friendly basis.

In this spirit the Party co-operated at the Conference between Polish and Czech Socialists, which took place in October, 1924, in Teschen, especially in view of reaching an understanding over the rights of the Polish minority in Czecho-Slovakia. The desire for permanent collaboration of all the Socialist Parties in Czecho-Slovakia was especially emphasised at the last Annual Congress of the Party in Teschen in March, 1925, when the question was discussed in the presence of the representatives of the sister Parties. In a resolution the Congress voiced the demand for a joint conference of all the Socialist Parties in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.
See pages 130 and 131.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY IN CARPATHIAN-RUSSIA.

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Founded | .. In 1920. |
| Membership | .. 6,420 (including 170 women). |
| Trade Union Membership .. | .. 3,090. |
| Youth Organisations | .. None. |
| Educational Organisations .. | .. In existence. |
| Press | .. 2 weeklies (1 Ruthenian and 1 Hungarian), 1 fortnightly. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Vpered</i> . (W.) 10, Rasinova ul., Uzhorod. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. Lower House, 1 out of 294. Senate, 0 out of 148. |
| Voting Strength | .. 21,970 (13 per cent.) in March, 1924. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | .. Secretary: V. Picha. |
| Party Headquarters | .. 10, Rasinova ul., Uzhorod. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. Congress Delegation. |

Carpathian-Russia has, by the Peace Treaties, become incorporated in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic; however, it possesses a certain autonomy. The province belonged previously to Hungary, but it is populated chiefly by Ruthenians. Before the war there was in this country, occupied as it is principally by small mountain farmers and foresters, and having almost no industry at all, not a vestige of a political Party or of any workers' movement. There existed only Church Schools, so that the percentage of illiteracy in 1910 amounted to not less than 69 per cent.

In this connection, since the incorporation of the province in Czecho-Slovakia, a definite change has taken place. More than 300 public elementary schools as well as secondary and technical schools have been established. At this time was formed the Socialist Party, through the initiative of a few comrades who had previously lived in the Hungarian industrial centres. The work of enlightening the people, mostly peasants and in part illiterate, was no light task, the more so as the officials coming over from Czecho-Slovakia met the working class with oppression and lack of understanding. Under these circumstances the achievement, in this mountainous corner of the Carpathians, and in such a short time, of having built up a Party of 6,000 members, may be called an extraordinary one. The limited industrial character of the country is clearly seen from the fact that the Party, according to its numbers, is stronger than the trade union movement.

At the Municipal elections in September, 1923, the Party received 19,870 votes and obtained 94 village administrators, while the communists polled 14,600 votes. At the Parliamentary elections, which only took place in Carpathian-Russia on the 16th March, 1924, the Communists, by using all means of allurements and intimidation, made enormous efforts to work on the unlightened people. With the help of large funds they actually succeeded in obtaining the quite disproportionate number of 102,000 votes (4 Members and 2 Senators), while the Socialists only obtained 21,990 votes and 1 Member. The success of

these communist tactics, however, was after the elections rapidly reversed, as the promises which they had made to the illiterate people naturally could not be made good.

The Socialist Party publishes papers in Ruthenian and Hungarian. In its work it has met with the most efficient support from the Czech Socialists, with whom it stands in intimate friendly relations. The representative of the Party in the Prague Parliament adheres to the Czech Socialist Parliamentary Group.

In November, 1924, the Party held an Annual Congress in Uzhorod, which bore witness to the zeal with which Socialist propaganda is making headway even in this economically and culturally still backward province.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See above and pages 130 and 131.

LITERATURE.

Reports of Annual Congresses.

DANZIG.

SOCIALIST PARTY.
(Sozialdemokratische Partei Danzig).

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---|
| Founded | .. .. . | In 1919. |
| Membership | .. .. . | 3,514 (including 618 women). |
| Trade Unions | .. .. . | 30,000. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | .. .. . | 450 |
| Educational Organisations | .. .. . | In existence. |
| Press | .. .. . | One daily. |
| Official Organ | .. .. . | Danziger Volksstimme (D.), Am Spendhaus, 6, Danzig. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. .. . | 30 out of 120. |
| Voting Strength | .. .. . | 39,755 (24.2 per cent.) in November, 1923. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | .. .. . | Secretary: J. Mau. |
| Party Headquarters | .. .. . | Am Spendhaus, 6, Danzig. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. .. . | Congress Delegation. |

The Socialist Party of the Free City of Danzig came into independent existence when, by the Treaties of Versailles, Danzig, formerly belonging to the German Empire, was defined as a sovereign free city. Previously the Party was a constituent part of the German Socialist Party, with which it still stands in intimate spiritual relations.

Just as in the larger sister Party in Germany, the Danzig Socialist Party within the range and capacity of the little Free State, carries on the fight against the reactionary nationalism of the bourgeoisie.

At the elections to the Danzig National Assembly (Volkstag), which took place in November, 1923, the Party obtained a gratifying result, in that it maintained its previous 30 seats. It is the second strongest Party next to the German Nationalists (33), and nearly three times as strong as the Communists (11).

When the whole economic and social life in Germany was convulsed to its depths by the inflation, the wave of disaster broke over Danzig also. By the transition to another standard of currency the immediate effects were overcome, but the consequences were felt for a long time.

In January, 1925, Danzig was for a short time the centre of European interest, when it was drawn into the well-known conflict with Poland (the "Letterbox" affair).

Also in this incident the Danzig Socialist Party, in face of the extreme attitude of the Nationalists, represented the policy of reason and understanding. In two conferences with representatives of the Polish Socialists, full agreement was reached between the two Parties that the settlement of the questions at issue and the regulation of the relations between Danzig and Poland should be carried out in a friendly manner.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY. (Membership not given by the Communist International).
14,901 votes, 11 seats.

DENMARK.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (Socialdemokratisk Forbund.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Founded | In 1871. |
| Membership | 143,203 (of whom 44,406 are women). |
| Trade Union Membership | 302,704. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 9,965. |
| Educational Organisations | Association for Workers' Education, and Workers' College. |
| Press | 61 dailies, 2 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | <i>Social-Demokraten</i> . (D.) Norre Farimagsgade, 49 Copenhagen, K. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Second Chamber (Folketing), 55 out of 149. Upper Chamber (Landsting), 25 out of 76. |
| Voting Strength | 469,949 (36.6 per cent.) in April, 1924. (Proportional Representation for men and women). |
| Party Executive | President: Th. Stauning. Vice-President: Fr. Andersen. Treasurer: Kluewer. Secretary: Alsing Andersen. |
| Party Headquarters | Roemersgade 22 Copenhagen, K. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Andersen. (E.B.); Madsen. (E.). |

The period of this Report covers a noteworthy event in the Danish Labour movement—the first purely Socialist Government in Denmark. It was formed on April 23rd, 1924, as a result of the elections to the Folketing, which took place on the 11th April and left the previous Government Parties in a minority. The "Left" (Peasants' Party) obtained 45 seats (loss of 7), Conservatives 27 (gain of 1), Radicals 20 (gain of 2), Social-Democrats 55 (gain of 7). Thus Radicals and Social-Democrats together held a majority of one. Supported by the Radicals, but without any formal pact with them, the Party formed a Government, headed by Comrade Stauning, and among whose best known members were numbered Comrade Nina Bang, as Minister of Education, Comrade Bjorgbjerg, as Minister for Labour, and Comrade Bramsnaes, as Minister of Finance.

Freed from any formal dependence on the capitalist Parties, although relying on their support, the Government represented the policy of the Socialist Party and the decisions of its Party Congresses. Since, on the other hand, the middle-class Parties, including the Radicals, have a free hand *vis-à-vis* the Government, the situation requires great dexterity, the more so since in the Upper House the Government is in a minority. At first the chief business was to solve the economic problems—currency and taxation questions, trade balance—which the previous capitalist Government had proved incapable of settling. These efforts, especially in the matter of stabilising the currency, were fully successful, and thereupon without undue haste the Government was able to prepare for bringing forward its own plans. At the head of this came a law for the introduction of Works' Councils, the ratification of the Washington Conventions on the Eight-Hour Day, and on women's and children's

work, improvement of social legislation, provision for old age, assistance for widows and children, a law on apprenticeship, the reform of penal law, land reform, reform of taxation (especially of land taxation), control of banks and prices, and above all a plan for complete disarmament.

This much-debated project for disarmament of the Danish Labour Government is no mere gesture, but a well-considered practical measure, which in the special conditions of Denmark defies all criticism from the political, military and Treasury standpoint. Should it be rejected by the Upper House, the Government is likely to submit it to a referendum of the whole country.

The practical work thus carried out by the Socialist Party for the welfare of the whole people, was not without stimulating effect on the Party itself, which is one of the oldest and best organised within the International, and is still steadily though gradually developing. The capitalists have attempted to weaken the moral victories of the Danish working classes: by involving the workers in hard economic struggles they hoped to inflict on them defeat and at the same time to prepare difficulties for the Government. However, after a strike and lockout lasting thirteen weeks—the biggest industrial fight ever waged in Denmark—their attacks were successfully beaten off.

Moreover, the partial elections of the Landsting (Upper House) in September, 1924, in which the Social-Democrats gained three seats, though without being able to overthrow the hostile majority in the Upper House, together with the local elections in March, 1925, have proved that the Party is still marching onward. Its successes are due to its perfect unity, beside which the Communist Party appears altogether insignificant.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY (has a few hundred members—the figure is not given either by the Party itself or by the Communist International). It received at the last elections 6,219 votes (0.48 per cent.), and no seats.

LITERATURE.

Reports of Party Congresses. (Danish).
Bulletin of the Labour and Socialist International. Vol. 1, No. 2.

ESTHONIA.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY. (Eesti Sotsialistlik Tööliste-Partei.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1925 (1917). |
| Membership | 42,000 (including women). |
| Trade Union Membership | About 18,000 not affiliated to the I.F.T.U. |
| Membership of Youth Organisation | In existence. |
| Educational Organisations | None. |
| Press | One weekly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Uhendus</i> . (W.). Reval, Postfach 367. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 22 out of 100. |
| Voting Strength | 86,000 (18.7 per cent.) in 1923 (Proportional Representation for men and women). |
| Party Executive | President: A. Rei. Vice-Presidents: K. Ast; Piiskar. Treasurer: K. Wirma. Secretary: E. Jonas. International Secretary: M. Martna. |
| Party Headquarters | Reval, Brookusmägi 4, Postfach 367. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Congress Delegation. |

The Republic of Esthonia is a small country, born like the other Border States, from the collapse of the old Russian Empire, and pre-occupied like them with the maintenance of the independence then achieved. Itself a product of the application of the right of self-determination, it has granted full national autonomy in cultural matters to the German, Russian, Swedish and Jewish minorities living in its midst.

Esthonia is three-quarters an agricultural land. Industry is but little developed, the Labour movement consequently weak; the degree of education of the population, whose national life was totally suppressed under Russian rule, is low. It was only after the war in 1917 that the Social-Democratic Party came into being as a child of Russian Social-Democracy. By the side of it there existed the "Independent Socialist Party," the successor to the earlier Social-Revolutionaries. The two groups were only definitely fused at the Party Congress in Reval in April, 1925. The United Party assumed the name of Socialist Labour Party.

In the present Esthonian Parliament seats are distributed as follows: Peasants' Party 23, Socialists 22 (Social-Democrats 14, Independents 8), Democratic Union 20 (People's Party 8, Christian People's Party 8, National Liberals 4), National Labour Party 12, Small Peasants 4, Communists 4, Russians 4, Germans 3, together with a few small Parties and 4 Independents.

On the 1st December, 1924, the Communists in Reval, where the great political trial against accused Communists was going on, attempted a *coup d'état* which, according to certain evidence, was headed from Russia; it broke down, however, through the indifference of the Esthonian workers, and within a few hours was bloodily suppressed. This attempt revealed the great danger to which the Esthonian Republic was exposed from the direction of Russia, which was menacing its independence

with the same methods which it had used to break the people of Georgia, and to rob it of its freedom. Under these circumstances the Esthonian Socialists joined the Coalition Government. They strove at least to limit the harsh methods of repression which the bourgeoisie applied after the communist *coup d'état*, and to safeguard the country and the Esthonian Labour movement from further grave disturbances. The Party Congress of April, 1925, approved by a large majority the participation of the Party in the Government.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY (according to the Communist International, 3,250 members); has been illegal since the 1st December, 1924. At the last elections it obtained 10 per cent. of the votes and 10 Members of Parliament, but 4 of these went over to the Socialists, 2 declared themselves independent, while the remaining 4, after the *coup d'état*, were unable to take their seats. The campaign of vengeance by the bourgeoisie has heavily depleted the Communists.

FINLAND.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue.)

| | |
|---|--|
| Founded | In 1899. |
| Membership | 28,000 (including 6,000 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | 47,312. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 3,000. |
| Educational Organisations | An independent educational body, supported by the State, but conducted by agreement with the Party. |
| Press | 5 dailies; 6 papers appearing three times a week, 1 bi-weekly, 1 weekly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Suomen Sosialidemokraatti</i> . (D.). Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 60 out of 200. |
| Voting Strength | 254,672 (28.9 per cent.) in April, 1924. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | President: Väinö Tanner. Vice-President: I. W. Keto. Treasurer: K. Harvala. Secretary: T. Tainio. |
| Party Headquarters | Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Wiik (E.). |

Like the other Baltic States Finland only attained its full national independence in the year 1918. However, it differs from the others in that the Finnish people was not before this time "a nation without history," but had in a loose union with Russia already reached a high degree of independence and a high stage of cultural development. The national revolution which brought complete freedom fulfilled itself through grave trials: the short reign of bolshevism, invasion by the German troops, civil war, reaction and the fearful white terror have all left their mark.

From a social point of view the revolution led to the dominance of the peasants; Finland became a democratic Peasants' Republic. At first the Peasants defended, in the political sphere also, their new gains against the reactionary attacks of the old ruling classes. In proportion, however, as democracy established itself, the Peasants became more and more divided from the workers, with whom at first they had co-operated in many things, and moved towards the bourgeoisie. The peasants turned reactionary. In this development a great part was played by land reform, which placed the wealthy peasants at odds with the landless village proletarians, whose interests were voiced by Social-Democracy. Particularly important was the fact that the capitalist Parties were able continually to frighten the peasants with the bolshevist bogey; the fear of bolshevism, which the attitude of the communists continually stimulated, led the peasants into reaction.

After the civil war of 1918, the Finnish Labour Movement was in ruins. The Social-Democratic Party painfully rebuilt their organisation and restored the many model institutions, which the

Labour movement in this advanced country had long since possessed. These include especially a Workers' Educational Association, a Workers' Sport Federation, and other cultural organisations of the working class, together with a network of Workers' Clubs extending over the whole country. On the other hand, the trade union movement remained under the influence of the communists.

The successful reconstruction of the Finnish Labour Movement became evident, when in July, 1924, the Social-Democratic Party celebrated in solemn fashion the 25th anniversary of its foundation.

At the beginning of August, 1923, by a Government order, 200 officials of the Communist Party, including the whole of the Parliamentary Group, were imprisoned. The communist organisations were dissolved, their Press forbidden, and their printing-presses closed down. Against these brutal acts of violence, the Socialists raised a protest, and, despite the strong resistance by the bourgeois Parties, compelled the dissolution of what remained of Parliament. The elections took place in April, 1924, and gave the Social-Democrats a gain of 37,800 votes with an increase of their seats from 53 to 60, while the communists went down from 27 seats to 18. The middle-class seats are distributed as follows: Progressives, 17; Peasants' Party, 44; Conservatives, 38; Swedish National Party, 23. After a make-shift ministry of permanent officials had temporarily carried on the Government for a while, a Coalition Government of all the middle-class Parties was formed. It was reconstituted in March, 1925.

In June, 1924, the mass trial of the communists was held. In addition to the punishments inflicted by the Court, the prohibition of the Communist Party also was confirmed and upheld by its verdict.

In January, 1925, was held the election of the President of the Finnish Republic, at which the Party put forward Comrade Tanner as its candidate. Mr. Relander, a democrat and representative of the Right Wing of the Peasants, was elected.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY (membership unknown, and not quoted by the Communis International). Crushed by the White Terror after the breakdown of the bolshevist rule, it came to life again under the name "Socialist Party," was forbidden afresh in August 1923 (see above), and since then has been illegal. At the last elections it obtained 91,664 votes (10.5 per cent.) and 18 seats.

LITERATURE.

- The White régime in Finland. Helsingfors, 1919. (In Swedish and Finnish).
- Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue 25 Vuotta. (Publication on the 25th Jubilee of the Party, Helsingfors, 1924). (In Finnish).
- Finland and Finnish Social-Democracy. (A report to the International Congress in Hamburg), Helsingfors, 1923. (In German and French).
- Reports of Annual Congresses. (In Finnish).

FRANCE.

SOCIALIST PARTY. (Parti Socialiste, S.F.I.O.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Founded | .. In 1905. |
| Membership | .. 99,000 (including women). |
| Trade Union Membership | .. 700,000 (in addition, about 300,000 under Communist influence are not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.). |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | In state of reorganisation. |
| Educational Organisations | — |
| Press | .. 5 dailies, 47 weeklies. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Le Populaire</i> . (F.). 12 Rue Feydeau, Paris, 2e. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. Chamber, 105 out of 600. Senate, 6 out of 300. |
| Voting Strength | .. 1,700,000. (Approximate numbers) 687,668 recorded from Socialist Lists, 2,107,545 recorded by combined lists of the Left Block in May, 1924 (Proportional Representation distorted by over-representation of majorities; male suffrage). |
| Party Executive | .. Barrion, Bracke, Caille, Compère-Morel, Gaillard, Goude, Grandvallet, Grumbach, Guillevic, Lebas, Le Trocquer, Gaston Lévy, Jean Longuet, Mauranges, Osmin, Poisson, Pressemane, Prété, Renaudel, Hubert-Rouger, Varenne, Zyromski. General Secretary: Paul Faure. Assistant Secretary: Sévérac. |
| Party Headquarters | .. 12, Rue Feydeau, Paris, 2e. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. Bracke (E.B.); Longuet (E.). Substitutes: Léon Blum, P. Renaudel, P. Faure. |

When at the Congress of Tours in December, 1920, the French Socialist Party, then 180,000 strong, was split by the orders of Moscow, there were scarcely 50,000 members who remained faithful to the old Party. To-day, with its hundred thousand members, the total of 1913 has been greatly surpassed. The Party membership is also now double that of the Communist Party, whose strength since Tours has been reduced to 50,000.

Passing through the difficult years of struggle on two fronts, the Party has been fighting on the one side against dominant nationalism, which has found its historical personification in M. Poincaré, and on the other side against communist nihilism, which at the very moment of this grave struggle, was weakening the forces of the French proletariat. The Party has bravely fought this dangerous fight, and in spite of attacks from two sides, has during these years carried out its international duties in a faultless manner.

At last on the 11th May, 1924, the day of reckoning came against the nationalist reaction.

Compelled by an absurd electoral system, the National Congress of Marseilles (February, 1924) had authorised the Party to conclude in the divisions, wherever circumstances required, and as an exceptional

measure, under the control of the Party Executive, electoral agreements with other Parties. These necessary tactics were justified by the election results, which proved a striking victory for the Left. The Party had 101 members, to which were added later a further five deputies by their joining the Socialist group in Parliament.

Out of the 101 Members 40 were elected from lists composed exclusively of members of the Party; the other 61 from combined lists of the Left Block. In 18 districts, Socialists and Communists faced each other with full lists of their own. Except in a single district the Socialist list everywhere came out first.

Poincaré's fall was followed by the resignation of the President of the Republic, Millerand, which was forced by the Socialists. A special congress of the Party met in Paris on the 1st and 2nd June, 1924. In answer to a letter from M. Herriot, the Chairman of the Radical Party and Prime Minister Elect, the Party resolved, without taking any binding obligation, to give the Herriot Government parliamentary support, as far as, and with the only condition that the Government should carry out the social and democratic reforms to which it had pledged itself.

This policy of support, which however did not entail any permanent union with the middle-class parties, and could not in any way prejudice the Party's character as a class organisation, has been loyally upheld by the Party against fierce attacks from the Left and Right, against reactionary intrigue and communist manoeuvres. After Herriot's resignation the Party declared itself ready, through its National Council (which met on April 14th and 15th, 1925), to continue its parliamentary support for any government determined to pursue the policy for which the country had declared at the polls on May 11th, 1924. It is on these lines that the Party has determined its further attitude towards the Government of M. Painlevé. The Morocco question and Finance measures brought about dissensions within the Socialist Parliamentary Group and finally led to their breaking away from the Government majority.

In applying this policy the French Party realised that first and foremost it was accomplishing an international duty of the highest importance: of preventing for as long a time as possible the return to power of nationalist reaction in France. Indeed, the chief successes of the Herriot Government were won in the sphere of foreign politics. As against these the domestic situation in the country, a formidable legacy of the financial policy of the National Block, has grown worse in consequence of the criminal manoeuvres launched against the Government of the Left by the leagued powers of high finance, the bishops, and the worst Fascist reaction. These allies who hastened the fall of the Herriot Government have also done their best in slowing down social reforms and in disturbing the country.

On the 3rd and 10th May, 1925, the municipal elections were held throughout the whole of France. For these elections the Grenoble Congress had granted the same exceptional authorisation as for the general elections of 1924. The municipal elections showed a fresh confirmation of the country's confidence in the policy of the 11th May, 1924.

The Party has reconquered all the municipalities which it held previously and has won a very large number of new ones, including those of the big towns of Bordeaux, Tours, Toulouse, Mulhouse, Dunkirk, Nîmes, Calais, Le Creusot, Chalons-sur-Saone, Clermont-Ferrand, Lorient, Saint-Nazaire. The communists suffered a staggering defeat over the whole of the country, and even in the district of Paris, where their hold was strongest, they met with a perceptible setback.

- Karl Kautsky: "Georgia," Vienna, 1921 (German and English).
- "The Socialist International and Georgia," published by the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Georgia, Paris, 1921. (In French).
- Khomeriki: "Agrarian Reform and Rural Economy in Georgia," Paris, 1921. (In French).
- Bulletin of Vienna Union 1st year, Nos. 1 and 3.
- N. Jordania: "Reply to Trotsky," Berlin, 1922.
- Victor Serwy: "Co-operation in Georgia under the Bolshevik Rule," Brussels, 1922. (French and English).
- Julius Braunthal: "From Communism to Imperialism: Sketches from Bolshevik Georgia," Vienna, 1922. (In German).
- Pierre Renaudel: "Independence of Georgia and the International Policy of Bolshevism." (Speech in the French Chamber). Paris, 1925. (In French).
- "The British Trade Union Delegation in Georgia, according to Bolshevik newspapers in Georgia." Published by the Foreign Bureau of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Georgia. London, 1925. (English).
- "Russia." The Report of the British Trade Union Delegation. London, 1925. (English and German).
- F. Adler: "The Anglo-Russian Report" in the monthly review "Kampf," Vienna, 1925, No. 4. (Issued as a pamphlet in German, French, English and Russian).

GERMANY.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.)

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|--|
| Founded | .. .. . | By the General German Workers' Association (Lassalle) 1863, and by the Social-Democratic Labour Party (Eisenacher) 1869. The two united in 1875. |
| Membership | .. .. . | 868,914, of whom 144,328 are women. |
| Trade Union Membership | .. .. . | 6,293,359. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | .. .. . | 110,000. |
| Educational Organisations | .. .. . | National Board of Socialist Education; Friends' of Children Association. |
| Press | .. .. . | 167 dailies, several weeklies and monthlies. |
| Official Organ | .. .. . | <i>Vorwärts</i> (D.), Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin, S.W. 68. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. .. . | 131 out of 493. |
| Voting Strength | .. .. . | 7,880,963 (26 per cent.) in December, 1924. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| | | 7,802,346 (29 per cent.) at the German Presidential Election in March, 1925. |
| Party Executive | .. .. . | Presidents: Hermann Mueller, Otto Wels, Arthur Crispian. |
| | | Treasurers: Bartels, Ludwig. |
| | | Secretaries: Molkenbuhr, Marie Juchacz, Stelling, Adolf Braun, Dittmann. |
| | | Committee: Nemitz, Moses, Richard Fischer, Hildenbrand, Schulz, Hilferding, Rynek, Frank, Stahl. |
| Party Headquarters | .. .. . | Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin, S.W. 68. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. .. . | Crispian (E.); Mueller (E.); Wels (E.B.). |

In the post-war years, and particularly during the last two years, German Social Democracy has undergone events and trials which, in the history of this great Party, count among the hardest it has ever had to go through. As the strongest Party in the German Republic, of which it is the real creator and the real pillar, it is inevitably the most affected by all the fluctuations of foreign or domestic politics. Thus during the last two years it has had to register good and bad experiences, heartening successes and temporary setbacks. It was possible to defend the German Republic against all assaults; but in doing so the German workers were forced to undergo periods of the hardest trial, which they withstood magnificently; since the return of more stable economic developments the Social-Democratic Party is now once more strongly on the up-grade everywhere.

In the summer of 1923 Germany was in the midst of the Ruhr conflict. The workers of the Ruhr with admirable self-abnegation were carrying out passive resistance; meanwhile the big industrialists were enriching themselves in the most shameless way at the expense of the community. The financial policy of the Cuno Government was to blame for the insane inflation, which dispossessed large classes of the German people, drove

the workers to despair, and encouraged adventurers right and left in their attacks upon the Republic. In August, 1923, Cuno was forced to resign, and the Social-Democrats had to enter a Coalition Government, which afterwards in October, 1924, was remodelled. In the autumn of 1924 the struggle in the Ruhr had to be abandoned. Yet considerable time elapsed before the disturbance of the whole economic and political life, from which the workers' organisations also had to suffer heavily, passed over. The employers made use of this period of chaos to rob the German workers of the Eight-Hour Day, and in Saxony and Thüringen to break down the political strongholds of the working class.

Relaxation of the tension was only brought about by political events abroad, above all by the assumption of office by the Labour Party in England, and by the victory at the polls of the Left in France. Nevertheless, the aftermath of the crises still showed itself at the "inflation elections" of the 4th May, 1924, which did indeed give to Social-Democracy 6,014,372 votes and 100 seats, but also achieved for the extreme Parties on the Right and Left relatively strong gains. The resultant Parliament proved to be unworkable, and the Government of the Centre (Marx), which was brought together after long efforts, had a hard task to maintain itself against ever-recurring crises. Nevertheless, there came about at this time, as a result of favourable political circumstances abroad, the London Conference, at which for the first time Germany appeared as a negotiating party on an equal footing. The Experts' Plan (Dawes Plan), accepted by her, marked, in spite of its faults, a considerable advance in the settlement of the Reparations Question, and therefore was upheld by German Social-Democracy, and ultimately approved by the capitalist parties as well, including some of the German Nationalists, who by so doing contradicted their own assertions. At the Parliamentary elections of December 4th, 1924, the German people confirmed the fact that, by a majority, it stands for the policy of mutual understanding. The Socialist Party increased by one-third the number of its seats, obtained 7,880,963 votes and 131 seats; it is now once more unchallenged as the strongest Party in the German nation. Yet these elections only led to a further complex of Parliamentary difficulties and intrigues, from which ultimately emerged a Government of the bourgeois bloc (Luther) to which the Social-Democratic Party stands opposed.

On the 28th February, 1925, died Friedrich Ebert, the first President of the German Republic, the first German working man to fill the office as the head of the State. His burial developed into a great republican manifestation.

The choice of his successor took place by a referendum on the 29th March and 26th April. In the first ballot the Party put forward Comrade Otto Braun, and won a great moral success, not only by maintaining its powerful vote of almost 8 millions, but also by making considerable progress everywhere against the communists. In the second ballot, however, the communists managed to frustrate the chance of the Republican candidate; thus by their attitude the candidate of reaction, Hindenburg, was elected President.

The Party organisation and also the Party Press suffered heavily during the time of inflation, but has since recovered and is steadily reviving. At the most critical time there was brought into being, with the help of the Party, as a safeguard for the threatened Republic, the organisation of the "Black, Red and Gold National Banner," which has had an unprecedented growth, and stands to-day as a defence organisation of a million strong.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: Its membership is quoted by the Communist International as about 350,000. This figure, however, if it was ever reached, has certainly diminished to a fraction of it since, as the development of the poll shows. The Communists obtained at the Parliamentary elections in May, 1924, 3,746,089 votes (12.7 per cent.) and 62 seats; at the Parliamentary elections in December, 1924, 2,708,345 votes (9 per cent.) and 45 seats; at the Presidential elections in March, 1925, 1,871,207 (7 per cent.). The Communist Party has no longer in any single constituency a majority amongst the workers.

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY: Membership so small that it has not been published; 99,126 votes (3 per cent.) no seats in Parliament. This Party was founded by Georg Ledebour out of the small minority which opposed the reunion of the Social-Democratic Party with the Independent Socialists (in Nuremberg, 1922). Since then, however, Ledebour has already separated himself again from the Party, which, as a quite insignificant little group, has no political influence.

For "POALE-ZION," see page 174.

LITERATURE.

Reports of Party Congresses. (In German).

GREAT BRITAIN.

LABOUR PARTY.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | .. In 1900. |
| Membership | .. 3,155,911, including women. (Collective affiliation of Trade Unions, &c.). |
| Trade Unions | .. 4,342,982. |
| Youth Organisations | .. In course of formation. |
| Educational Organisations | .. Several organisations exist; a scheme of co-ordination is now being promoted. |
| Party Press | .. 1 daily, 22 weeklies, 50 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Daily Herald</i> , (D.), 2 Carmelite Street, London, E.C. 4. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. 151 out of 615. |
| Voting Strength | .. 5,551,549 (33.5 per cent.) in October, 1924. (Elections under majority rule; franchise for women limited). |
| Executive Committee | .. Chairman: C. T. Cramp. Vice-Chairman: Robert Williams. Treasurer: J. R. MacDonald, M.P. Members: A. G. Cameron, J. R. Clynes, M.P., A. J. Cook, T. Griffiths, M.P., S. Hirst, W. H. Hutchinson, F. W. Jowett, F. O. Roberts, M.P., P. J. Tevenan, F. B. Varley, M.P., Sidney Webb, M.P., R. J. Davies, M.P., George Lansbury, M.P., W. Lawther, J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., H. Morrison, Mrs. F. H. Bell, Miss M. Carlin, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Mrs. A. Dollan. Secretary: Arthur Henderson, M.P. |
| Party Headquarters | .. 33 Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1. |
| Representatives in the L.S.I. | .. Allen (E.); Cramp (E.); Henderson (E. and B.). |

The period of this Report covers one of the most remarkable stages in the history of the British Labour Movement—the first British Labour Government. It proved that British Labour is both ready and capable to take over the conduct of the affairs of the British Empire.

A General Election took place on December 6th, 1923, the Labour Party securing 4,355,000 votes and 191 seats in Parliament. Though holding only one-third of the seats in Parliament the Labour Party took office without entering into any coalition with capitalist Parties. On January 22nd, 1924, the Government was formed under the leadership of MacDonald.

The British Labour Government was a historical event not only for the British Party, but also for the workers of other countries. Its mere existence gave a tremendous impetus to the Movement everywhere. The first task which it set itself was gradually and cautiously to build up the conditions of a real lasting peace in shattered Europe. In fact the great achievements of this Minority Government of the British Workers, during the ten months' term of office, lay mainly in the sphere of foreign policy:—Recognition of Russia, acceptance by Germany of the Experts' Plan, settlement of the Reparations question at the London Conference, drawing up of the Geneva Protocol at the League of Nations Assembly. Added to that, in home affairs, a big housing scheme, improvements in

the administration of Unemployment benefit, &c. The most important social reforms were, however, only in a state of preparation when the Capitalist opponents turned the Labour Government out on a petty issue. The elections of the 29th October, 1924, though they brought the Labour Party an increase of more than one million votes, resulted only in 151 Labour seats, and the breakdown of the Liberals gave the Conservatives a considerable majority. In November, 1924, the first British Labour Government resigned. Labour resumed its place on the official Opposition benches in order to continue its fight for peace and better conditions for the British workers.

The experiences of this big adventure have a lasting repercussion within the British Labour Movement. Under the influence of these lessons British Labour seems to have entered upon a new phase in which it grapples with new problems. There is no doubt that this experience will strengthen its fighting force and accelerate its progress.

Amongst the problems which the British Labour Movement has to tackle is that of organisation. The Labour Party in its present form is composed of the Trade Unions, which are collectively affiliated and pay a certain fee for each of their members (except those who contract out), as well as of Socialist societies (I.L.P., Social-Democratic Federation, Fabian Society, &c.). On the other hand it is built up on the local Labour Parties to which, besides the local unions, also individual members may affiliate, and which are organised in Divisional Labour Parties. Consequently the Party Executive is composed of representatives of the National Societies (Trade Unions and Socialist Societies), and of representatives of the local constituency organisations, in addition to which there are special women members. The problems arising out of this form of organisation, and which have been discussed of late, are the relations between the Labour Party and the Trade Unions on the one hand, and, on the other, the question of Communist affiliation.

The following are affiliated to the Labour Party:—

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY. (See page 144.)

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (2,000 members). Founded in 1884 by H. M. Hyndman.

FABIAN SOCIETY (1,844 members). Founded in 1883.

JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY—POALE-ZION (1,500 members).

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY (membership of 3,700 as given by the Communist International). At the last election the Communist Party obtained 55,436 votes and 1 seat.

LITERATURE.

The Labour Year Book, London, 1925.

Reports of Annual Conferences.

GREAT BRITAIN.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY (I.L.P.).

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1893. |
| Membership | 65,000 (including 20,000 women). |
| Trade Unions | See Labour Party. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 8,000. |
| Educational Organisations | In existence. |
| Press | One weekly, one monthly, and a number of local propaganda papers. |
| Official Organ | <i>The New Leader</i> (W.), 24 High Holborn, London, W.C. 1. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 106 out of the 151 Labour Members of Parliament are members of the I.L.P., for 27 of whom the I.L.P. was financially responsible |
| Voting Strength | Included in the Labour Party Vote. |
| Party Executive | Chairman: Clifford Allen. Treasurer: C. Roden Buxton. Members: Margaret Bondfield, F. W. Jowett, J. Maxton, M.P., R. C. Wallhead, M.P., P. J. Dollan, F. Tait, Ben Riley, M.P., Fred Longden, Dorothy Jewson, E. E. Hunter, W. H. Ayles, H. Davies, E. Sandham. General Secretary: A. Fenner Brockway. Financial Secretary: Francis Johnson. Information Committee Secretary: E. E. Hunter. |
| Party Headquarters | 14 Great George Street, London, S.W. 1. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Clifford Allen. (E.). |

The Independent Labour Party is a Socialist propaganda and educational organisation working within the British Labour Party and based on individual membership. It was founded by Keir Hardie, and has worked faithfully for its great aims, Socialist and International, during the hard trials of war-time, as well as during recent years, when it has been confronted with the problems arising out of the development of the British Labour Movement, and particularly arising from the existence of the British Labour Government.

The task which the Party has set itself is threefold. It seeks to express a vigorous Socialist policy, first by directing its propaganda to a restatement of the basic principles of Socialism, which are in danger of being overlooked in the concentration on current political issues. Secondly, by influencing policy within the Labour Party on particular questions as they arise, in a definitely Socialist direction. Thirdly, by working out in detail, through special Commissions, a Socialist policy on key issues. In all these directions the Party has done well during the last few years, successfully supported by its organ, *The New Leader*.

The Report submitted to the last Annual Conference held at Gloucester in 1925, records a rapid growth of the Party, and the development of its activities in various spheres. The number of local Branches has leapt from 772 to 1,028 during the last year, i.e., an increase of one-third. It has organised approximately 600 public meetings every week

throughout the year. It has organised successful Summer Schools, and during the year an I.L.P. Guild of Youth has also been started. This already numbers 6,000, and is making rapid progress.

With the help of a very well organised Information and Research Committee, the Party has been able to launch a successful propaganda campaign throughout the country, and has carried the message of Socialism to the countryside. At the same time, a brilliant effort has been made in London by the organisation of "Sunday Evenings for the People," at one of the central theatres. By combining politics, drama and art, these gatherings have struck a new note in propaganda work.

The I.L.P. Members of Parliament constitute a Parliamentary Group, which seeks to influence the Labour Party in a constructive Socialist direction. Mr. John Scurr, M.P., is Chairman.

The particular position of the Party within the big British Labour Movement, between the extremes of Right and Left, entails a heavy task which can only be fulfilled by skill and endurance. Results show that the influence of the I.L.P. amongst British workers is steadily increasing.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES. (See page 143).

LITERATURE.

The Socialist Annual, London, 1925.
Reports of Annual Conferences.

GREECE.

SOCIALIST PARTY.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | .. In 1911. |
| Membership | .. 3,480 (including 65 women). |
| Trade Unions | .. 18,000. |
| Youth Organisations' Membership .. | .. 250. |
| Educational Organisations | .. A People's College recently founded. |
| Press | .. None at the present time. |
| Official Organ | .. (<i>Kinonia</i>), temporarily suspended. |
| Parliamentary Representation .. | .. None. |
| Voting Strength | .. Three candidates obtained 8,600 votes in December, 1923. |
| Party Executive | .. A. Chadjimichalis, Elie Delazano, J. Joannidis, J. Petropoulos, D. Stratis. |
| Party Headquarters | .. N. Yannios, 15 Rue Paparigopoulo, Athens. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. .. | .. Congress Delegation. |

Greece is one of those countries which since the war have not even yet returned to peace and to fully normal conditions. The Greco-Turkish War of 1922 ended with an overwhelming defeat. Its result was a revolt of the beaten army, which forced King Constantin to abdicate, but which did not develop into a real revolution; rather did it confine itself to the sanguinary punishments of those responsible for the military defeat. During the following years the disorders and internal struggles continued. A reactionary attempt at insurrection by the Monarchists under General Metaxas was overcome. The struggle for monarchy or republic continued until at last King George was forced to leave the country. In March, 1924, the dynasty was dethroned and the Republic proclaimed; on the 13th April, 1924, the new form of state was confirmed in a referendum by a three-quarters majority. The Greek Socialists have done their best in helping to establish the bourgeois Republic, which they regarded as a suitable platform for carrying on the fight for the emancipation of the working class. Because of their propaganda for the Republic many Socialists were persecuted and imprisoned.

But even after the establishment of the Republic conditions remained insecure, as the middle classes and their leaders in this country, which stands on the threshold of capitalist development, have not yet comprehended their historical roll: to open up the country industrially and to give the people a democratic education. The economic position of the small and still undeveloped country is unfavourable, the burdens of the lost war are pressing. The half million of refugees streaming out of Asia Minor with the defeated army provided a difficult problem for a nation of 6 millions, and for the Greek working class, moreover, a standing menace to their conditions of work and wages, for—as was illustrated at the unsuccessful railway strike of March, 1925—these unhappy people formed an industrial reserve army out of all proportion, from which capital was able to draw its blacklegs and strike-breakers. Only in most recent times has it been possible, with the help of a loan negotiated through the League of Nations, to build housing accommodation for the refugees and partly also to find occupation for them. But in general the Greek nation has not yet found peace, which is necessary for the security of the young

Republic. The alleged aspirations of the Bulgarians and Yugo-Slavs, which are directed towards the Aegean Sea, give the Greek militarists the pretext for demanding new armaments and for encouraging the nationalist spirit in Greece. It is these republican and at the same time nationalist currents which led to another military revolt, in June, 1925, by which General Pangalos, without bloodshed, established his disguised dictatorship.

Under these circumstances the Socialist Movement in Greece is, as can be imagined, still very weak, since the Labour movement in addition was badly affected through the split, and the greater part of the trade unionists went over to the Communists. But the Socialist Party accomplishes indefatigably the difficult task of educating the Greek working class, and it can with satisfaction register a slow progress.

At the last elections on the 16th December, 1923, the Socialists could only put up isolated candidates; and neither they nor the Communists secured one representative. There were elected: 230 Liberals, 91 Republican Liberals, 80 Republicans, 3 Agrarians (the Monarchists abstained from the election). Since then six Republican members have transferred to the Socialist Party, and form a small group in the Chamber.

During his journey through the Balkan countries in August and September, 1924, Comrade Vandervelde visited also Greece and spoke in Athens at a mass meeting arranged by the Socialist Party. This political event exercised a very favourable effect on the efforts made to stimulate the movement.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY. 2,200 members according to the Communist International. 25,000 votes. No Parliamentary representative.

LITERATURE.

Bulletin of the Vienna Union, 1st year, No. 4.

N. Yannios: "The Revolution in Greece," in "Kampf," Vienna, year 1922, No. 12, "The Elections and the Republic in Greece," year 1924, No. 3. (In German).

HOLLAND.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. (Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderspartij in Nederland.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Founded | In 1894. |
| Membership | 43,000 (including 9,273 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | 185,950. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 7,160. |
| Educational Organisations | Recently founded. |
| Press | 2 dailies, 4 weeklies, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Het Volk</i> . (D.) Keizersgracht 380, Amsterdam. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Lower House, 24 out of 100. Upper House, 11 out of 50. |
| Voting Strength | 706,317 (24 per cent.) in 1925. (Proportional Representation for men and women). |
| Party Executive | President: W. H. Vliegen. Vice-President: J. H. A. Schaper. Treasurer: W. Drop. Members: A. B. Kleerekoper, F. M. Wibaut, J. W. Albarda, J. A. Bergmeijer, D. A. Van Eck, Suze Groeneweg, J. v. d. Kieft, G. W. Sannes, W. v. d. Sluis. Secretary: C. Werkhoven. |
| Party Headquarters | Keizergracht 376, Amsterdam. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Vliegen (E.B.); Substitute: Wibaut. |

For the Dutch Labour movement the last few years have been externally a period of peace and internally one of steady development. Since the elections in 1922, the first at which women voted, and which consequently brought great success to the Clericals (at the expense of the Liberals) the Social-Democratic Party has had 20 Members in the Lower House. With their help the Party has carried on the fight against a challenging militarism and for all international safeguards of a true peace. In addition, representatives of the Party are co-operating successfully in municipal administration of all the large Dutch towns.

As early as October, 1923, through the rejection of a Bill for the increase of the Fleet, which was strongly resisted by the Social-Democrats, there arose a crisis in the Government, which, however, after several months, passed over without result. Together with the Trade Union Headquarters the Party organised against this Bill a petition to which in three weeks 1,132,000 signatures were obtained. The further effects of the Clerical Government made themselves felt, particularly in a perceptible degeneration in the schools.

Accordingly, at its Congress in February, 1925, the Party placed in the forefront of its electoral programme demands for disarmament, for workers' control in industries, and for educational reform. In March, 1925, the Socialist Group in Parliament brought forward a proposal for disarmament.

The general election took place on the 1st July, 1925, and gave the Socialists a splendid success. They scored the largest increase in votes. (138,545, i.e., 3.6 per cent. of the total votes polled) and gained 4 seats, whilst the Government Coalition Parties lost 5 seats in all.

During the last year the Party has had to some extent to lose the valuable help of two of its oldest champions and leaders: H. H. Van Kol and P. J. Troelstra have on grounds of health finally withdrawn from political life. Both of them belonged to the best known representatives of the Dutch working class in the International.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: 1,700 members (according to the Communist International). Obtained at the 1922 elections 63,664 votes (1.87 per cent.) and 2 seats, at the 1925 elections 36,786 votes and 1 seat. The Party has repeatedly split up: at first, led by H. Gorters, one group separated to form the "Communist Workers' Party." In 1924, under the leadership of Henrietta Roland-Holst and J. De Kadt, was formed the "Association of Communist Fighting and Propaganda Clubs," and recently, in 1925, under the leadership of Sneevliet and Bourmann, two officials of the Syndicalist Trade Union Movement, another opposition group was formed, so that the Party is moving towards utter disruption.

LITERATURE.

Report of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of the Netherlands to the Hamburg Congress, Amsterdam, 1923. (German, French, English.)
Reports of Annual Congresses. (In Dutch.)

HUNGARY.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (Magyarországi Szocialdemokrata Part.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Founded | In 1894. |
| Membership | 190,000 (including 20,000 women). (Trade Unions as collective members.) |
| Trade Unions | 176,400. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 4,200. |
| Educational Organisations | In existence. |
| Press | 1 daily, 3 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | <i>Nepszava</i> , 4 Conti-utca, Budapest, VIII. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 24 out of 245. |
| Voting Strength | 272,359 in April, 1922. (Restricted franchise for men, more heavily restricted for women; majority election rule; for the most part without secret ballot; election terrorism). |
| Party Executive | Secretaries: Stefan Farkas, Josef Buechler. |
| Party Headquarters | 41 Erzsébet körút, Budapest, VII. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Peidl. (E.). |

At the Hamburg International Congress the Hungarian Socialist Party was not represented. Its abstinence was the clearest sign of the prevalent conditions in Hungary. Since then the régime of repression has continued, although in the meantime the Counter-revolution has consolidated itself and especially in the towns has tried to produce an appearance of an ordered form of state. The fact that the Hungarian Party, in spite of that, has been successful in collecting again the completely intimidated workers, in rebuilding the wholly shattered organisations and in developing itself comparatively to so great a strength, is a living witness to the power and sacrifice actuating the Hungarian working class.

The fight, which the Hungarian Party has to conduct against the brutal persecutions inflicted by an all-powerful Reaction on the Hungarian workers, is not here shown in all its details; all the less can it be fully depicted because the counter-revolutionary repression is always assuming different and changing forms, and from day to day devises new means of persecution. Now it opposes the working class in the form of an arrogant government abusing its pliable parliamentary majority to gag the Opposition; another time as a Terrorist Group, illegal, yet condoned and even feared by the Government, carrying out its work of bloodshed; yet again as a partial class justice, which sends the worker for an unproved word to prison for years, while acquitting or not even charging notorious murderers. Thus, Hungarian Reaction is using all forms of violence, and if behind the scenes the individual groups of the counter-revolution quarrel bitterly among themselves, outwardly they appear at once monarchist and fascist. Therefore the defence of the working class against such a multiplicity of attacks is all the more difficult, and it has to be conducted against superior opponents in all spheres by every means at command. With regard to the Pact concluded in these circumstances in 1921, under the brutal extortion of the Bethlen Government, between the latter and the Party's representatives, this is fully discussed in the Report of the Commission appointed by the L.S.I., which is quoted in full elsewhere. (See page 87).

In April, 1922, the first elections took place in which the Socialist Party was able to take part, and although the elections were held under an unexampled franchise, which, as the only one in Europe, does not allow secret ballot (with the exception of a few urban districts), the Socialists with 24 Members succeeded in entering Parliament as the strongest Party in the Opposition. This was already a clear expression of the mood of the masses of the people, and there is no doubt that if there were a secret ballot in Hungary or, if in any way the unheard-of repression were mitigated, the present régime would be swept away. This has since been repeatedly shown whenever at any opportunity the feeling of the masses of the people has found voice. Thus especially in February, 1924, when Hungary, faced with the complete collapse of its currency, was only saved at the last moment by the intervention of the League of Nations; thus at the Budapest Municipal elections in May, 1925, which gave a majority of the elected members to the Democratic Block (including 54 Socialists); thus again in the political crisis which was called forth by the indictment of the former Minister, Beniczky, who accused the Governor Horthy with the personal instigation of the murder of the Socialist editors, Somogyi and Bacso. This exposure of the Hungarian Head of the State has caused the greatest sensation throughout the whole world and passionately stirred up opinion in Hungary.

During all this time, in the period of the economic crisis, which brought the workers by their appallingly low wages to the brink of physical destruction, as well as during the ever-recurring political crises, the Hungarian Socialists to the best of their powers have defended the interests of the working class. In December, 1924, their representatives replied to the violence offered to them by means of a boycott of Parliament, which lasted until May, 1925; only after the victory at the Municipal elections in Budapest did they return to the National Assembly. The Government took advantage of their abstinence in order to have passed a new Order of Business, which completely gags the Opposition. For the Municipal elections in Budapest, moreover, a special reactionary electoral system was decided on, and the fears of this Government, which dreads elections because it can only keep itself supreme by the stifling of the people's will, showed itself especially in the unparalleled provisions of the new Parliamentary electoral reform.

The special difficulties of the fight which the Hungarian Party has to carry on make it conceivable that within the Party itself there should have arisen divergencies of opinion. These assumed later the character of an organised Opposition, and led to friction and the exclusion of some persons, but the attempt at disruption remained insignificant.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY: Membership not given by the Communist International; illegal; had no candidates at the last elections and no Parliamentary Representation.

SOCIALIST PARTY: Membership unknown; no Parliamentary Representation. In April, 1925, some people, excluded from the Socialist Party, under the leadership of Stephan Vagi, attempted to establish this Party. The split was, however, restricted to quite a small group.

SOCIALIST EMIGRANT GROUP, "VILAGOSSAG." See next page.

EMIGRANT GROUP, GARAMI-BUCHINGER, with its headquarters in Vienna.

LITERATURE.

Proceedings of Annual Congresses. (Hungarian).

HUNGARY.

"VILAGOSSAG" SOCIALIST EMIGRANT GROUP. ("Vilagossag" Emigráns Szocialista Csoport.)

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Founded | In 1920. |
| Party Executive | President: Alexander Garbai. Vice-President: Wilhelm Böhm. Members: Zoltan Ronai, Josef Diner-Denes, Paul Szende, Stefan Kulcsar. Secretary: Sigmund Kunfi. |
| Party Headquarters | Dr. Sigmund Kunfi, <i>Arbeiter-Zeitung</i> , 97 Rechte Wienzeile, Vienna V. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. .. . | Congress Delegation. |

The Socialist Emigrant Group, "Vilagossag," arose from the necessity of the Hungarian Socialists, who had to flee from their homeland before the fury of the White Terror, to band together in an organisation. As it consists of refugees, who, according as political and economic conditions become favourable or unfavourable, wander from country to country, and mostly join the trade unions and political Parties of the countries giving them the right of asylum, statistical estimates of the numerical strength of the emigrants and the membership of the "Vilagossag" can scarcely be given reliably.

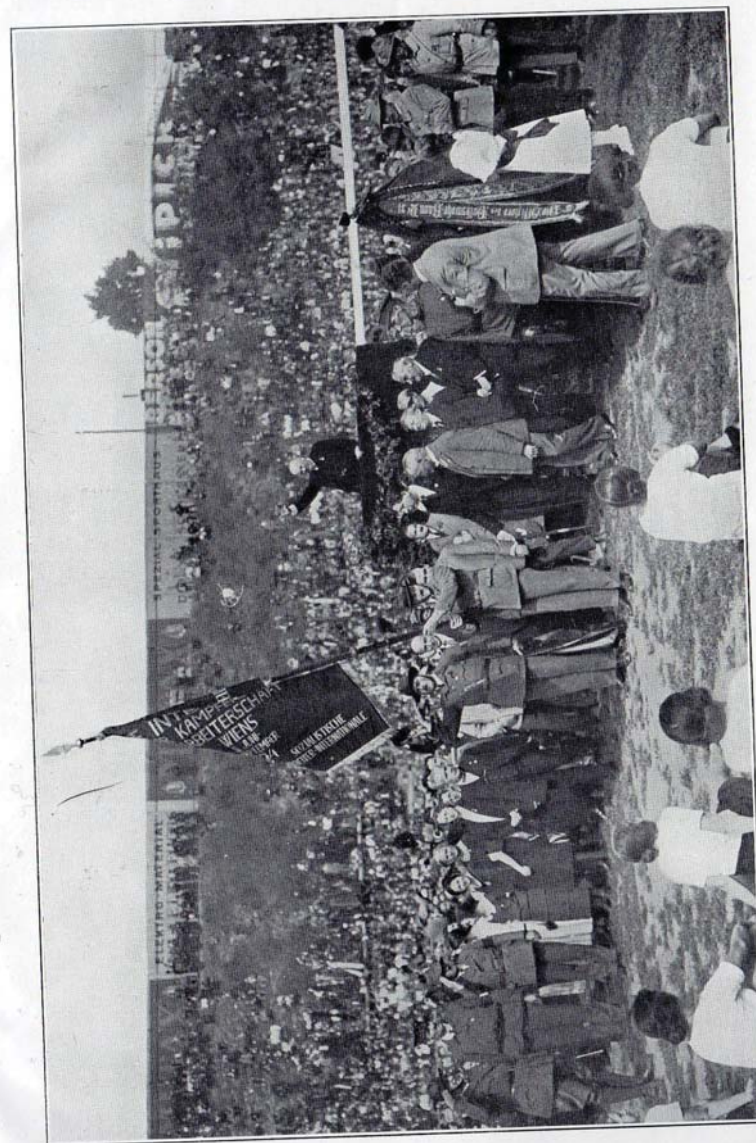
At the time of the Hamburg Congress it was Austria, to-day it is the Succession States, and especially France, in which most of the Hungarian emigrants live. "Vilagossag" Groups exist even in Asia Minor, Syria, in all Balkan countries, and also beyond the seas, especially in Brazil. The political Headquarters of the Group is still in Vienna.

The principles by which the "Vilagossag" Group is guided are set out in the statement of its delegates to the International Commission, which examined the circumstances of the Hungarian Party. The statement emphasises that the Emigrant Group, "Vilagossag," without foregoing the right to frank criticism of the Hungarian Party conditions, considers the maintenance of the unity of Hungarian Socialism as the vital interest of the Hungarian proletariat.

In the special conditions, under which on one side the Hungarian working class in Hungary itself has to carry on the fight against the Counter-revolution and on the other side the Hungarian emigrants have to act, the "Vilagossag" Group considers it as its task to keep the gagged Hungarian proletariat in touch with the civilised world, above all, with the Socialist Parties of the International, and secondly, to influence the policy of the Hungarian working class, in so far as this is possible under present circumstances, along Socialist lines, to define its boundaries on the Left as well as on the Right, and to preserve it from divergencies. In addition there is the provision of aid for fugitives, whose lot the Emigrant Group, "Vilagossag," endeavours to alleviate as far as it can; for that it has found the solid support of sister Parties, especially of the Austrian Socialists, with whom it stands in the friendliest relations.

In this fulfilment of its duty in the service of the suffering, crushed, yet resurgent, Hungarian proletariat, which in many instances cannot act, indeed cannot even raise its voice as it would wish, the Emigrant Group, "Vilagossag," has unfortunately not always been able to maintain the

Conferring the "Flag of the International" on the Viennese Workers.



The Flag of Honour dedicated to the Austrian Workers jointly by the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U., is presented by the International Delegates before an audience of 150,000 on September 21st, 1924.

necessary understanding with the Hungarian Party, which has in repeated declarations expressly repudiated any connection with the emigrants. Nevertheless, the activity in co-ordination, in enlightenment, and in propaganda, which the "Vilagossag" Group, with its slight powers, has carried through, has not been unfruitful: it has contributed towards clarifying the conditions of the Hungarian workers' movement, and in averting the Communist influence. And it has especially assisted in laying bare before the world the infamous deeds which the Hungarian reaction daily perpetrates against the Hungarian workers; also in rousing the conscience of civilised humanity, and in calling upon the international working class to protest against the terrible plight inflicted upon their comrades in Hungary.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See page 163.

LITERATURE.

Memorandum of the Socialist Emigrant Group, "Vilagossag," to the International Socialist Conference in Vienna, 1921. (German).

Sigmund Kunfi: "The Crisis of the Hungarian Counter-Revolution," "Kampf," Vienna, year 1921, No. 11/12. "The Meaning of the Elections in Hungary," "Kampf," year 1922, No. 7.

Wilhelm Böhm: "Between two Revolutions," Munich, 1924. (German).

ITALY.

UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY. (Partito Socialista Unitario.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Founded | .. In 1922. |
| Membership | .. 31,000 (including 1,080 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | .. 269,746. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | .. 4,800. |
| Educational Organisations | .. Almost entirely destroyed by the Fascists. |
| Press | .. 2 dailies, 9 weeklies, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Giustizia</i> . (D.) Via Kramer 19, Milan. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. 24 out of 535 in the Chamber. |
| Voting Strength | .. 422,957 (5.9 per cent.) in April, 1924. (Proportional Representation distorted by over-representation of majorities and by terrorism.) |
| Party Executive | .. F. Turati, C. Treves, E. Musatti, F. Targetti, G. Faraboli, C. Binetti, A. Creppi, R. Petti, N. Levi, F. Frola, A. Campanozzi, G. Fiorentino, E. Zannerini. General Secretary: Luigi Basso. |
| Party Headquarters | .. Via della Guardiola 24, Rome. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. Modigliani (E.B.); Treves (E.). |

To summarise the history of the Italian proletariat during recent years is to tell a dramatic story of unprecedented violence, intense suffering, heroic sacrifices and moral victories.

At the Leghorn Congress in January, 1921, a schism between Socialists and Communists took place within the Italian working class. At the Rome Congress, in 1922, the "United Socialists" separated themselves from the Maximalists. The March on Rome (28th October, 1922) put Mussolini in power. Since then the Fascist bludgeon has kept the working class under.

It would be vain to try to retrace here the sum of terror, destruction, humiliation, bloodshed and mud which these three years of Fascist domination represent.

The Italian workers who have passed through this hell have, indeed, proved their devotion to the ideas of Socialism, and they have affirmed it again and again, braving at the risk of their lives, the hail of persecutions.

One rather limited opportunity of proving it was furnished by the General Elections of the 6th April, 1924, which took place under the régime of the bludgeon, and of a special Fascist electoral law. And, nevertheless, in spite of the monstrosity of this law, in spite of violence and falsification, wherever the Italian people could, at least in a certain measure, express their true will—notably in the large towns—Fascism incontestably remained in the minority. The Opposition came out victorious from an electoral battle which it had been hindered everywhere from fighting.

The United Socialist Party came out at the head of the Labour Parties.

Then came the 10th June, 1924, the date of the tragic event which was to lay bare to the entire world the true situation in Italy, arouse the indignation of mankind and bring about an important political change in Italy; this was the day on which Giacomo Matteotti, Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, died a martyr's death. The crime provoked a wave of excitement throughout Italy, and roused the public opinion of the whole world. After vain efforts to conceal themselves, the culprits, who belonged to the chief leaders of Fascism, had to yield up some of their accomplices. As a protest against the delays of justice, the Opposition Parties left the Chamber and united in a bloc, which has found an effective instrument of resistance in a boycott of Parliament, thus struggling without violence against violent Fascism, which, in proportion as its prestige wanes, has recourse to methods of oppression increasingly ferocious.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Party pursues the painful task of reconstructing the broken organisations, the destroyed workers' clubs, the burnt printing works. They have been able to maintain their paper, *Giustizia*, in spite of the repeated destruction of its editorial offices and of its printing-press, and have even succeeded in raising its circulation, in spite of extreme difficulties, to 60,000. Last year saw, by an admirable effort, the reconstruction of the Party groups in the provinces of Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Puglia and Sicily. Since the assassination of Matteotti the membership has leapt up everywhere.

A Conference of the Party was held on the 28th and 29th March, 1925, at Rome, at which were represented 72 provincial federations, including 31,000 members. A resolution on the political situation, passed unanimously, reaffirmed the solidarity of the Party with the Opposition Bloc, and declared that the Party will submit to the joint decisions of the Opposition concerning the methods to be pursued in the struggle, especially as regards the decision whether or not to participate in the next election.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY (MAXIMALISTS): 360,694 votes (5 per cent.) and 22 members. When the schism occurred in October, 1922, *Avanti*, the official organ of the Party, remained in the hands of the Maximalists. Since the exodus from the Chamber, the Maximalists, as well as the Socialists, have been part of the Opposition Bloc. A practical rapprochement has thus taken place between the two Parties. Nevertheless, differences of programme still exist, especially concerning the problem of democracy and dictatorship. Since Serrati left the Maximalist Party, the latter has completely broken its relations with the Communist International.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: 12,000 members and 268,192 votes (3.7 per cent.), and 18 members. The Communists did not join the Opposition Bloc and have reentered the Chamber after some months of abstention.

LITERATURE.

Giacomo Matteotti: "The Fascisti Exposed." (A Year of Fascist Domination). English edition by the I.L.P. (Also in Italian, French and German).

"The Freedom of the Vote under Fascist Rule," Rome, 1925. (In Italian).

Reports of Party Congresses. (In Italian).

Italian Socialist Year Book, 1925. Edited by "Avanti," Milan. (In Italian).

LATVIA.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. (Latwijas Sozialdemokratiska Strahdneeku Partija.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Founded | In 1904. |
| Trade Union Membership | 15,000. |
| Membership | 4,600 (of whom 600 are women). |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 15,000. |
| Educational Organisations | Workers' Educational Centre. |
| Press | 2 dailies, 4 weeklies, 4 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | <i>Socialdemokrats.</i> (D.) Kr. Barona iela 25, Riga. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 33 out of 100. |
| Voting Strength | 242,000 (31.5 per cent.) in October, 1922. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | President: A. Rudewitz. Secretary: Bruno Kalnin. Members: F. Zeelens, R. Bilmanis, K. Lorenz, W. Bastjanis, E. Morizs, A. Wezkalns, M. Rosental, K. Bungsch, K. Dekens, Dr. Paul Kalnin, J. Rainis, Dr. F. Mendters, J. Wisnia. |
| Party Headquarters | Bruno Kalnin, Matisa iela 11-13, Riga. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Zeelens. (E.). |

The Social-Democratic Party of Latvia celebrated, at its Annual Congress in April, 1924, the twentieth year of its foundation. One of its founders, J. Rainis, the popular Latvian poet, recalled during his speech of commemoration, that twenty years earlier, under Tzarist yoke, the foundation of the Party had had to take place in absolute secrecy. To-day the Party is a power in the young Latvian Republic, and one whose political influence is far greater than the number of its registered members would signify. It represents a full third of the electorate. Its activity and organisation take in all branches of the Labour movement. It stands in the closest union with the trade unions and co-operative societies (10,000 members); it leads and influences the workers' sickness friendly societies (114,000 members); the workers' educational centre (30,000 members); and the workers' sports association. Thanks to its vigorous activity in all spheres it has taken hold of three-quarters of the working class. Outside it there exists an illegal Communist Party and a small Right Wing Socialist Party, which calls itself "Menshevik." This Party originated in 1921, through the withdrawal of some members of Parliament from the Social-Democratic Party, and seeks to adapt itself to the interests of the newly-formed class of smallholders.

The political and social development which Latvia has passed through in recent years, is similar to that in the other newly-founded states in Eastern Europe. Through the destruction and partial transference of the factories to Russia during the war, industry has been heavily depleted, and a great part of the industrial workers have emigrated, and as the reconstruction of industry is only proceeding very slowly, those who are left are suffering from unemployment. The determining problem, after the achievement of national and political independence, was that of land reform. As a result of this reform the originally revolutionary section of the peasantry has been glutted with ownership of land (22 hectares per family), and a part of the newly-formed smallholders have become politically inert, and are leaving the Socialist Party. This also led to the position that the democratic elements within the middle

class and the peasantry, which were previously sympathetic to the Left, are finding their influence diminish, and the middle-class parties are throwing themselves into the arms of the reaction. Consequently, the political task of Latvian Social Democracy during recent years has been a twofold one: in foreign affairs, the maintenance of the independence of the Latvian Republic along the lines of a peaceful foreign policy, at home the defence of the Republic and of democracy against the blows of an ever bolder Fascism, recruited from reactionary officers and students.

As early as the 1st May, 1923, sanguinary encounters lasting several hours had taken place between the Nationalist reactionaries and the Socialists, who were taking part in May-Day demonstrations. Further, smaller encounters and assaults by Fascists remained the order of the day. In June, 1923, was formed, under the leadership of Meierowitz, a Government of the Peasants' Union, the Democratic Centre and the Right Wing Socialists, which, however, could only govern with the support of the anti-semitic Nationalist Right. After its fall in March, 1924, a Liberal Government (Samuel), took office and was supported by the Social-Democratic Party by the resolution of its Annual Congress of April, 1924. In December, 1924, this latter Government was again replaced by a reactionary one, and from this time dates the close interaction between the ruling party, *i.e.*, the Peasants' Union, and the extreme Right. As a consequence of this the Fascists, who centre around the "National Club" and similar organisations, took upon themselves an ever-growing license.

On the 15th February, 1925, there occurred in Riga a riot between members of the Workers' Sports Clubs, who were distributing Socialist leaflets, and Fascists from the National Club, during which Comrade Massak was killed. The Government indeed decided to close the National Club, but simultaneously prohibited the Workers' Sports Association, which was thereupon reconstituted as the Sports' Section of the Party, and besides its activity in athletics now acts as a proletarian guard in defence of the Republic against Fascism. During the last two years these workers' sports detachments have repeatedly defended with success the meetings and demonstrations of the Party and of the trade unions. In Parliament the Socialist speakers charged the leaders of the Government Party with the moral responsibility for this murder of a working man. The funeral of the murdered Comrade Massak grew into a formidable Socialist demonstration, in which more than 50,000 took part. However, the real reply to the assaults of the Fascists was given by the population itself at the municipal elections, which were held immediately afterwards. In Mitau, Social-Democracy increased the total of its seats from 9 to 20—that is to say more than double—and in Riga from 18 to 31. On an unusually heavy poll the Party received 60,000 votes (34 per cent.) as against 23,000 at the previous election, thus more than doubling its voting strength. This brilliant victory enables the Latvian Party to look forward with eager confidence to the coming parliamentary elections.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: 1,000 membership, according to the Communist International. Illegal. No representation in Parliament.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MENSHEVIK PARTY: 200 members and an organisation of Smallholders with 1,000 members. Obtained at the last elections 40,000 votes and 7 seats.

The section of the "BUND" (General Jewish Workers' Union) existing in Latvia is affiliated to the Social-Democratic Party.

LITERATURE.

Bulletin of the Vienna Union, Vol. I., Nos. 2 and 3; Vol. II., No. 3.

Reports of Annual Congress. (In Lettish).

Wilzin: "The Sixth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Latvia" in the "Kampf," Vienna, 1921, No 2. (In German).

LITHUANIA.

SOCIALIST PARTY.

(Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija.)

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1896. |
| Membership. | 2,000. |
| Trade Unions | 6,000. |
| Youth Organisations Membership .. | 400. |
| Educational Organisations .. | Within the Party. |
| Press | 1 weekly, 2 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | <i>Socialdemokratas</i> . (W). 40, Kestucio Kaunas. |
| Parliamentary Representation .. | 8 out of 78. |
| Voting Strength | 102,000 (10.5 per cent.) in May, 1923. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | President: Bielinis. Treasurer: Galinis. Secretary: Markauskas. |
| Party Headquarters | 40 Kestucio, Kaunas. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. .. | Congress Delegation. |

The Socialist Party of Lithuania has been badly weakened by the Communist split in 1918. Only since 1920 has it begun again to revive. Moreover, it had its chief strength in Vilna, through the transfer of which to Poland it suffered a considerable loss. In general, the Labour movement in Lithuania can certainly record progress, yet its development is checked by difficult impediments. These impediments lie in part in the conditions of the country itself, in its backward industrial development and the low cultural level of its population: partly they have been created artificially by the reactionary Government to curb the rise of the working class.

For nearly five years since the quarrel over Vilna, the country has still been under the yoke of martial law and of emergency laws, under shelter of which the Clerical Majority Block hopes to make its tottering position secure. Indeed, all the severities of the martial law are directed exclusively against the working class. For any outspoken utterance the Labour Press is punished by the administrative authority with heavy fines, which, if they cannot be met, are changed to imprisonment. The freedom of meeting is ruthlessly restricted, the trade unions persecuted and in part suppressed, the local leaders of the Party and of the trade unions harried by house searches, and, without any grounds, arrested or expelled from their places of residence. Sickness benefits do not exist, and up to the present the Lithuanian Parliament has failed to provide the Lithuanian worker with any vestige of workers' protection or of social insurance.

The economic situation of the country is unfavourable, and wages are extremely low. The land reform which has been carried out has failed to diminish the number of peasants with too little land. In the place of the small class of large landed proprietors there has arisen a larger number of speculators in land, because the landless peasants have not enough money and no equipment for acquiring and tilling the soil. Masses of unemployed peasants have migrated into the towns and aggravate the unemployment there.

The chief adversary of Socialism, in this economically still undeveloped country with its culturally backward population, is the Clerical Party. In its train there marches also the Clerical "Labour Federation" (Darbo Federacija), which betrays the workers to reaction. Under its auspices there was passed a reactionary "Defence of the Constitution Act," which legalises the most brutal acts of tyranny against the working people. By such means the present holders of power are entrenching themselves in view of the approaching general elections, in order to maintain their ascendancy.

In October, 1924, throughout the whole country, were held the municipal elections, which brought great success to the Socialist Party. Especially in the capital, Kaunas, and in the second largest town, Schaulen, extraordinary progress was made. A total of 459 seats were won. This result is of good omen for the parliamentary elections (in the spring of 1926) to which the Party in defiance of reaction looks forward full of hope.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: Membership not quoted by the Communist International. Illegal. No representation in Parliament.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S PARTY: A group akin to the Left Social Revolutionaries in Russia; likewise illegal.

SOCIALIST ZEIREJ-ZION (Jewish).

LABOUR FEDERATION (Clerical). See above.

LUXEMBURG.

LABOUR PARTY. (Arbeiterpartei Luxemburgs).

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1903 as Socialist Party: reorganised as Labour Party in 1924. |
| Membership | 1,155 (including 65 women). |
| Trade Unions | 21,157. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 425 organised in Trade Union Groups. |
| Educational Organisations | Workers' Educational Centre. |
| Press | 1 daily. |
| Official Organ | <i>Arbeiter-Zeitung</i> . (D.) Luxembourg. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 8 out of 47. |
| Voting Strength | 17,379 (15.9 per cent.) in March, 1925. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | President: Josef Thorn. Members: N. Biever, Frau Erpelding-Schlesser, A. Krieps, P. Krier, F. Neu, J. Thilmany, P. Tintinger. Secretary: H. Clement. |
| Party Headquarters | Hubert Clement, 101 Rue Victor Hugo, Esch-sur-Alzette. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Congress Delegation. |

The Luxembourg Labour movement has during the period covered by the Report passed through a noteworthy reorganisation. In the course of the summer and autumn of 1925 the conversion of the earlier Socialist Party into the Luxembourg Labour Party took place. In addition the official organ (previously *Soziale Republik*) has appeared since October, 1924, under the new name of *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. These revisions were in pursuance of the purpose to further collaboration between all parts of the workers' movement, especially between the Party and the Trade Unions, and to overcome the disunity of forces.

The reorganised Party has since then been in the position to prove its fighting powers, and within six months has gone through two election fights with great success. In October, 1924, the municipal elections in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg took place. The Labour Party has everywhere won votes and seats, and was able in some municipalities to win majorities; altogether 65 members of the Labour Party were elected as against 5 in 1921—the Party has increased its representation thirteenfold.

In February, 1925, there came the unexpected dissolution of the Chamber, owing to the repudiation of the Railway Agreement with Belgium proposed by the Clerical Government. The elections took place on the 1st March, 1925. The Labour Party raised its number of representatives from 6 to 8, and being the only Party which achieved an increase of seats, emerged as the real victor, while the Clericals maintained their position and the Liberals suffered a setback. The result of the elections was a change in the Government. The new Government (Pruem) is supported by the Labour Party. The new Chamber elected the Labour Party member, Comrade René Blum, as its President.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY: 210 members, 965 votes, no seats. (No number of membership is given by the Communist International.) It forms a section of the French Communist Party.

NORWAY.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. (Norges Socialdemokratiske Arbeiderparti.)

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1921. |
| Membership | 8,000 (including 2,000 women). |
| Trade Unions | 90,000. (Not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.) |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 2,000. |
| Educational Organisations | Study circles, organised by the Youth Organisation. |
| Press | 4 dailies, 15 weeklies, including several appearing twice and three times a week. |
| Official Organ | <i>Den nye Socialdemokraten</i> (3 times a week). 15 Øvre Slotsgate, Oslo. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Lower House 8 out of 150, Upper House 2 out of 38. |
| Voting Strength | 87,000 (9 per cent.) in October, 1924. (Proportional Representation for men and women). |
| Party Executive | Chairman: Magnus Nilssen. Vice-Chairman: Ludwig Hansen. Treasurer: Miss Ragnrid Grue. Secretary: Olav Oksvik. |
| Party Headquarters | 13, Øvre Slotsgate, Oslo. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Nilssen. (E.). |

The Norwegian working class has, unfortunately, not yet recovered from the condition of dismemberment which has handicapped it for years past. The old Norwegian Labour Party which, like the British Labour Party, was based on the system of collective affiliation of the Trade Unions, went over to the Communists in the year 1921. The minority which remained true to the idea of Democratic Socialism then founded the Social Democratic Labour Party, based on individual membership. Before the split there were 108,000 members in the original Party, whereas the Social Democrats started with only 3,000. Both the organisational and administrative machinery of the Party remained in Communist hands, and at the beginning there were only 3 Socialist newspapers against 33 Communist papers. But before long the Communists had worked havoc amidst the powerful Party which went over to them, and in 1923 not more than 45,000 members were left when another split occurred. The majority of the Party (something like 30,000) were anxious to escape from the dictatorship of Moscow and broke away from the Communist International. Thereupon the remaining minority founded the Communist Party and affiliated to Moscow.

The effect has been that the Norwegian working classes are now divided into three sections, but at the same time, at least one-half of the working class remains politically unorganised. This fact was evident at the elections in October, 1924. The Labour Party polled 178,000 votes and got 24 seats, the Social Democratic Party 87,000 votes and 8 seats, the Communists 58,000 votes and 6 seats. The elections did not result in any great political change and the Liberal Government, led by Mowinkel, remained in office.

Meanwhile, the Social Democratic Party has proceeded with the laborious task of reconstructing the organisation which the Communists destroyed. Supported by the powerful Socialist Parties of Sweden and Denmark and working in close co-operation with them, they are leading the workers of Norway back to the principles of International Socialism.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See above. (The Communist International gives the membership figure of its Norwegian section as 16,000.)

PALESTINE.

JEWISH LABOUR AND SOCIALIST FEDERATION "POALE-ZION." (Jüdischer Sozialistischer Arbeiterverband Poale-Zion.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | .. In 1909. |
| Membership | .. 13,200 (including 3,000 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | .. General Jewish Labour Union (Histadruth Haowdim Haklalit) in Palestine; in other countries the members belong to the Trade Unions affiliated to Amsterdam. |
| Youth Organisations | .. In Palestine, America, Poland and Roumania. |
| Educational Organisations | .. Jewish Schools in Poland, Roumania and America. |
| Press | .. 4 weeklies (Palestine, Roumania, Eastern Galicia, Poland); 3 fortnightlies (America, Argentine, Austria); 1 monthly (Germany). In Palestine 1 daily paper is published by the Trade Unions. |
| Party Executive | .. Federation Secretary: B. Locker. |
| Party Headquarters | .. Federation Secretariat, Blumauergasse I., Vienna II. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. Congress Delegation. |

The Jewish Labour and Socialist Federation "Poale-Zion," is a Federation of Jewish Workers' Parties and organisations existing in various countries. Its affiliated membership in the most important countries is as follows: Palestine, 3,500 members; America, 3,000; Poland (including Eastern Galicia), 3,200; Roumania, 1,300; Argentine, 1,100; Great Britain, Germany, Austria and other countries, 1,200 members.

As the L.S.I., by its structure, is exclusively territorially organised, it was somewhat difficult to make possible the inclusion of the Poale-Zion Federation in the International. The Executive of the L.S.I. decided at their meeting in June, 1924, in Vienna, that as the special conditions of the Jewish people constituted a unique problem, Palestine will be considered as the main country of the Federation, and the Groups in other countries, according to Article 10 of the Statutes of the L.S.I., will be reckoned as sections.

As in other Parties the Communists have also in the Poale-Zion inflicted heavy losses by splits, which to-day have in the main been overcome.

In Palestine the general Jewish Labour Union, the "Histadruth," was founded, which is the first and up to the present the only Asiatic trade union federation affiliated with Amsterdam. The Party in Palestine works—next to its general socialist activities—especially to ensure that the Jewish colonisation is carried out on a co-operative basis.

In Eastern Europe, especially in Poland and Roumania, the Poale-Zion Groups work to secure that the Jewish workers shall, as regards industrial organisation, belong to their unions; in addition to trade union and political activities, they carry on a lively campaign in cultural matters and maintain, in many cases, schools, child and apprentice homes, for the proletarian youth.

In America the Poale-Zion Groups took a lively part in the endeavours of the Socialist Party to found an all-embracing Labour Party.

Among the common tasks which the Parties and Organisations affiliated to the Federation have to carry out, the question of the immigration of the Jewish workers in Palestine, with the consequent problems of the Colonisation of Palestine, is one of the Federation's chief cares. In the questions of the economic structure and administration of Palestine, the Federation strives for the utmost autonomy and peaceful relations with the Arabian population, and especially with the Arabian workers.

The next Congress of the Federation will take place in August, 1925, in Vienna.

In most of the countries, in which organisations of the Federation exist side by side with other Socialist Parties, there prevails between them understanding and mutual friendly co-operation.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

- (a) In Palestine: "HAPOEL-HAZAIR" is the Workers' section of the "Hitachdut," an organisation which in other countries where it exists, is non-Labour. COMMUNIST POALE-ZION, affiliated to the Communist International.
 - (b) Other Jewish Workers' Parties outside Palestine:
 - GENERAL JEWISH WORKERS' UNION ("BUND"): (Poland). In Latvia, Roumania and Russia the sections of the "Bund" are affiliated to the Socialist Parties of these countries.
 - COMMUNIST POALE-ZION (Poland, Roumania, United States, Argentine).
 - SOCIALIST ZEIREJ-ZION (Poland, Lithuania, Russia), united with the Poale-Zion since August, 1925.
- In addition, see the Parties of the above-mentioned countries, in which groups of the Poale-Zion exist.

LITERATURE.

- Bulletin of the Vienna Union, 1st year, No. 3, 4 and 5.
- "The Jews in War," a Memorandum of the Jewish Socialist Labour Federation Poale-Zion to the International Socialist Bureau at the Hague, 1917. (German, French).
- Jewish Labour Correspondence. (Jak) 1917—1922. (German, French, English).
- "Haadamah" (monthly), 1918—1921. (Hebrew).
- "The Jewish Worker," Vienna, 1920—1922. (German).
- Report of the Palestine Delegation, 1920. (Yiddish, Hebrew).
- "The Working of Erez Israel," 1922—1924. (Yiddish).
- S. Rubaschow: "Private Enterprise and Co-operation in the Colonisation of Palestine," Berlin, 1922. (German).
- S. Kaplansky: "Problems of Palestine Colonisation," Berlin, 1923. (German).
- B. Borocho: "The Jewish Workers' Movement in Statistics," Berlin, 1924. (Yiddish).
- "The New Way," Berlin, 1924—1925. (German).

POLAND.

SOCIALIST PARTY. (Polska Partja Socjalistyczna.)

| | |
|---|--|
| Founded | 1892. |
| Membership | 59,600 (including women). |
| Trade Union Membership | 465,000. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 8,000. (Socialist League of Youth, 2,000 ; "Physical Power," 6,000). |
| Educational Organisations | Workers' University and Workers' University League ; Child Welfare Groups. |
| Press | 4 dailies, 5 weeklies, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Robotnik</i> . (D.). 7 Warecka, Warsaw. |
| Parliamentary Representation | In the Lower House, 41 out of 444. In the Upper House, 7 out of 111. |
| Voting Strength | 911,067 in November, 1922. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | President : F. Perl. Members : Puzak, Niedzialkowski, Ziemiecki, Daszynski, Diamand, Szerkowski, Prauss, Czapinski. |
| Party Headquarters | 7 Warecka, Warsaw. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Diamand (E.). Substitute : Niedzialkowski. |

Since the Hamburg Congress the position of the Polish Socialist Party, which during the first stormy years after the creation of the Polish Republic was often an extremely difficult one, has become to a considerable extent established.

Within the Polish working class the communist movement has largely died down. Various elections have repeatedly affirmed that the overwhelming majority of the Polish working class stand in the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party. During last year the Party increased its membership by more than 15,000 (about 33 per cent.).

A specially difficult problem within the Polish State is the relationship to the national minorities. Also for the Polish Socialist Party there arises the question of their relations with the foreign-speaking working class as one of first concern, and the Party has repeatedly endeavoured to render these relations more friendly than they have been hitherto. In addition the Polish Socialist Party has also turned its attention to the general question of the rights of the national minorities in Poland, and among other things, has submitted a bill to Parliament for the regulation of the autonomy of the Ukrainian districts.

The shaping of the Polish Republic in its present form has raised hard problems on several of its frontiers. In this respect too the Polish Socialist Party has always striven towards understanding and peaceful discussion for the removal of conflicts. To this end, in October, 1924, it held a conference with the Czech Socialists on the position of the Polish minority in Czecho-Slovakia, and also in November, 1924, a meeting with the Russian Social-Revolutionaries. When in January, 1925, strife broke out between Poland and Danzig, there took place two discussions, which succeeded in reaching agreement on all the questions at issue between the representatives of the P.S.P. and the Socialist Party

of Danzig. In general, as regards foreign policy, the P.S.P. has always been concerned to act in conformity with the general policy of the International. It has also laid special stress on maintaining this co-operation intact by direct contact with the sister parties, and has taken every opportunity to strengthen its international connections.

At home, during the last two years, the Party has experienced on occasions eventful times and violent political and economic disturbance. In May, 1923, was formed the Witos-Korfanty Government of the Right, which was reconstituted in October, 1923, whereby the influence of nationalist reaction was still further strengthened. In November, 1923, in reply to the military measures by which the Government was trying to break a railway strike, there arose a brief general strike and following it, in Cracow, a regular insurrection of the working class, who drove the military from one quarter of the town and held it defensively for several days. The Party meeting of the P.S.P. at its sittings in Cracow in January, 1924, then summarised in a resolution the Party's demands from the Government. These deal especially with the maintenance of the Republican and democratic constitution against the attacks of nationalist reaction, the preservation of rent control, the carrying-out of land reform, the settlement on democratic lines of the problem of national minorities, and the further extension of social reform. The attitude of the P.S.P. towards the present bourgeois Coalition Government is likewise based upon these demands. In the course of 1924 the question of reforming state finances also came to the front ; owing to the severe economic crisis the workers' organisations were at times hard hit.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

GERMAN SOCIALIST PARTY. (See page 180).

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST PARTY. (See page 178).

GENERAL JEWISH WORKERS' UNION ("BUND") : 6,000 members. At the last elections got 81,473 votes, no seats. Not affiliated to any International.

JEWISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION "POALE-ZION" : (3,200 members, 10,000 votes, no seats). Belongs, through the "Poale-Zion," Federation to the L.S.I. (See page 174).

COMMUNIST "POALE-ZION" : (14,000 votes, no seats).

SOCIALIST ZEIREJ-ZION (Jewish).

GERMAN LABOUR PARTY : founded in 1923, in the district of Lodz ; united in 1925 with the German Socialist Party.

THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST PARTY : in East Galicia altogether in the hands of the Communists ; in Wolhynia some organisations still exist.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY : (5,000 members, according to the Communist International, 128,000 votes, 2 seats). Is illegal.

NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY : (472,382 votes and 18 seats). Corresponds approximately to the National Socialists (Klofac Party) in Czecho-Slovakia.

LITERATURE.

"The Socialist Movement in Poland" ; Report to the International Congress of Hamburg, Warsaw, 1923. (In French).

Reports of Annual Congresses. (In Polish).

POLAND.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST PARTY. (Partja Niezaleznych Socjalistow w Polsce.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Founded | In 1922. |
| Membership | 2,500 (including 100 women). |
| Trade Unions | See page 176. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 200. |
| Educational Organisations | None. |
| Press | 2 weeklies, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Socjalista</i> . (W.) 25 Straszewskiego, Cracow. |
| Parliamentary Representation | None. |
| Voting Strength | 5,000 in November, 1922. (Proportional Representation, men and women). The elections took place a few weeks after the establishment of the Party. |
| Party Executive | President: Dr. Drobner. Vice-President: Zasztowt. Members: Dr. Kruk, Kapitutka, J. Hanemann, Godwod, J. Bieronska, L. Zacharjasiewicz, Schlesinger, |
| Party Headquarters | Dr. Boleslaw Drobner, 25 Straszewskiego, Cracow. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Drobner. (E.). |

The difficult problems with which the Polish workers in their new State have to wrestle—the organisation of the State, relationship towards the national minorities, resistance against a nationalist foreign policy towards its neighbour states, the fight against reaction at home—have naturally enough provoked wide differences of opinion and at times some dissatisfaction with the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party. At first this dissatisfaction resulted in strengthening the communist movement: however, after the illusions of bolshevism had receded, some portions of the Polish proletariat still felt the need for a policy towards the bourgeoisie, which should be more alive and more in line with the principles of revolutionary class-struggle, without playing into the hands of Moscow. The Independent Socialist Party, brought into being in 1922, is the embodiment of this militant tendency. Through the unification effected at Hamburg it now belongs to the same International Organisation as the P.S.P., but persists still in carrying out its principles as an independent organisation.

Its programme, while firmly rejecting bolshevism on the one hand, emphasises on the other hand the need for fighting against Polish imperialism and for repudiating any collaboration with the capitalist Parties on national grounds.

The organisational resources and conditions of the Party are of course limited, the more so since it is persecuted by the authorities and by the law courts. Thus during the last few years its leaders, Comrades Dr. Drobner and Dr. Kruk, have been several times indicted and brought before the courts, on account partly of their participation in the movement of the Cracow workers in November, 1923. However, a ruthless persecution and the heavy penalties which the Polish courts (using the old Austrian penal code) inflict for the most trivial political offences, are unable to break the spirit of the supporters of the Party and indeed only stimulate it.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.
See page 177.

LITERATURE.

Bulletin of the Vienna Union, 2nd year, No. 3.

POLAND.

GERMAN SOCIALIST PARTY. (Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Partei in Polen.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1922. |
| Membership | 3,000 (of whom 600 are women). |
| Trade Union Membership | 12,000 (German Trade Unions in Poland), and 3,000 clerks (Afa-Association in Upper Silesia). |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 400. (German Workers' Youth Organisation in Poland). |
| Educational Organisations | Workers' Education League; Child Welfare Groups. |
| Press | 1 daily, 1 bi-weekly, 2 weeklies. |
| Official Organ | <i>Volksstimme</i> . (D.) 29 Kosciuszkiego, Katowice. |
| Parliamentary Representation | 1 out of 444 in the Polish Sejm (Warsaw), 2 in the Silesian Sejm (Autonomous Provincial Assembly). |
| Voting Strength | 18,000 (10 per cent.) at the elections to the Silesian Sejm in September, 1922. (Proportional Representation for men and women). |
| Party Executive | Johann Kowoll, Dr. S. Gluecksmann, Buchwald, Lukas, Homa, Ossadnik, Dr. Bloch, Masurek, Henschel, Pankratz, Brandes, Mueller, Karch. |
| Party Headquarters | 11 Ul. Dworcowa, Katowice. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Congress Delegation. |

Owing to the frontiers drawn for the Polish Republic in the Peace Treaties, considerable German Minorities in various districts became embodied therein. Within these national minorities there existed various detached fragments of the German Labour movement, some of which had previously belonged to the German and some to the Austrian Socialists. First, the organisations in the district of Bielitz and in the formerly German district of Upper Silesia succeeded in effecting a union, to which was added later the organisations in the Pommerellen district (Bromberg), and finally the "German Labour Party," which existed in the district of Lodz. The secretariat and headquarters are in Kattowitz.

In addition to these difficulties of organisation the political position of the German working class in Poland is in itself a difficult problem, coming as the workers have from various states, and suddenly forced to rely only on themselves. It goes without saying that the Party took up in the most emphatic manner the fight for the rights of national minorities and for the cultural independence of the German Minority, which were disregarded and derided by the rulers in Poland; but it is just as certain that it rejects and fights against not only Polish but also German nationalism and jingoism, and aims at peaceful understanding and discussion between nations. In this struggle the Party has repeatedly sought the co-operation of the Polish Socialists. On other occasions it has collaborated with the Independent Socialist Party. The special circumstances of its position have also at times brought it into a loose collaboration with the German bourgeois Parties.

But the decisive question is whether all the workers' Parties of different nationalities in Poland will succeed in uniting for effective action, and in creating a permanent organ for this unified work. This question in particular has been discussed by the German Socialists in Poland at their Party Congress at Bielitz, in December, 1924, where they declared their desire for the restoration of more intimate relations with the Polish Socialists.

Meanwhile the propaganda activity and also the organised consolidation of the German working class go forward. The Party certainly loses by the migration of German workers into Germany.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See page 177.

LITERATURE.

Data to the Second Annual Congress of the German Socialist Party in Poland. Compiled by Dr. Siegmund Glücksmann, Bielitz, 1924. (In German).

PORTUGAL.

SOCIALIST PARTY. (Partido Socialista Portugues.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Founded | In 1875. |
| Membership | 2,500 (including women). |
| Trade Unions | 50,000. (Not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.) |
| Youth Organisations | None. |
| Educational Organisations | Educational Circles; Workers' Sports Union (3,000 members). |
| Press | 2 weeklies, 2 fortnightlies, 1 monthly. |
| Official Organ | <i>Heraldo</i> . (F.) Largo Alfonso Pena 35, Lisbon. |
| Parliamentary Representation | None. |
| Voting Strength | (?) |
| Party Headquarters | Alfredo Franco, Alameda das Linhas de Torres 34, Lisbon. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | Congress Delegation. |

The Socialist Party of Portugal first notified its formal entry into the L.S.I. in March, 1925. The announcement was accepted by the Executive in its meeting at Paris (May, 1925).

Up to the completion of this Report there was not sufficient information on which to give a summary of the development of the Party.

ROUMANIA.

FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES. (Federatia Partidelor Socialiste din Romania.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Founded | In 1921. |
| Membership | 12,600 (including women). |
| Trade Union Membership | About 40,000. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 1,200. |
| Educational Organisations | In individual places. |
| Press | 2 dailies (German), 5 weeklies (2 Roumanian, 1 Yiddish, 1 Hungarian, 1 Ruthenian). |
| Official Organ | <i>Socialismul</i> . (W.) 37 Strada Brezoianu, Bucharest. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Chamber, 1 out of 369. Senate, none. |
| Voting Strength | 25,000 in March, 1922. (Proportional Representation for men: gross falsification of elections). |
| Party Headquarters | Ilie Moscovici, Strada Oteteleseanu 5, Bucharest. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Pistiner. (E.). |

Roumania has been languishing for years under the rule of an unexampled corrupt capitalist oligarchy, which brutally persecutes and oppresses the workers' movement and abandons the peasants to the despotism of the authorities, the insolence of the military, and the blows of the police. At the so-called "election" in 1922 this ruling clique, which calls itself a "Liberal Party," by all the means of Eastern terror and falsification, secured for itself a majority and removed all but one representative of the working class from Parliament.

Immediately after the war the Roumanian workers' movement took a powerful upward swing. As in other countries, so it was here again the Communists who enticed the working class into hazardous adventures, which exceeded their power, and thus drove them to their ruin. In Roumania it was the disastrous general strike of October, 1920, which the Government broke by militarising the railways, which brought about the collapse of the Labour movement. Unlimited persecution set in. Large sections of the working class sank down into apathy; valuable acquisitions were lost; social legislation remained a dead letter; the economic position, the standard of life, and the treatment of broad sections of workers, especially of landworkers, are inhuman and intolerable.

To-day the Communists in Roumania have sunk to absolute insignificance; their illegal Party is infected through and through with police spies. Its only remaining function is that from time to time—especially with regard to its connection with Russia, with which on account of Bessarabia, Roumania's relations are very strained—it provides the bourgeoisie with a pretext for inflicting new persecutions on the whole workers' movement.

The Labour movement in present-day Roumania consists of organisations of several districts which differ in the composition of their population, in their cultural development, and also in the political status granted to them as constituent parts of Greater Roumania. The workers' move-

ment is strongest in the districts previously belonging to Austria and Hungary with a non-Roumanian population, especially in Bukowina and the Banat. There it has also recovered without injury from the communist split, and vigorously withstood persecutions. Further, there exist organisations in Transylvania and finally, in Old Roumania, where the movement has had the most difficult time. The individual organisations were in June, 1921, at the meeting in Ploesti, joined to form the "Federation of Socialist Parties of Roumania." In 1922 unity was restored in Old Roumania between the "Social-Democratic Party" which was already affiliated to the Federation, and the "Socialist Party" ("Centrists"), at the first joint meeting of the Federation held in August, 1922, in Bucharest. Connection with the international Labour movement was furthered through the visits of foreign comrades (Albert Thomas in November, 1924, Sassenbach in June, 1925), and especially through the holding of the Socialist Balkan Conference in Bucharest in March, 1924.

The workers' movement slowly recovers and strengthens itself again, even in Old Roumania, although there, under the eyes of the Government, a fascist movement among nationalist students has developed, which is perpetually committing fresh excesses. In December, 1924, after the resignation of the British Labour Government had reversed the international situation in favour of reaction, the Roumanian Government again prepared to strike a blow at the working class.

It passed an emergency law "for the repression of breaches of public order," which, with its elastic interpretation, puts all similarly reactionary laws in the shade, and which also is expressly directed against affiliation to the Labour and Socialist International. During the discussion of this shameful law in the Chamber the only representative of the Roumanian working class, Comrade Pistiner, voiced a courageous protest against the unheard-of persecutions.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

COMMUNIST PARTY: (2,500 members, according to the Communist International). It works illegally and had no candidates at the last elections. A part of the Trade Union Movement, which is not affiliated to Amsterdam (perhaps 10,000 members), is under Communist influence; but these organisations are losing ground heavily.

JEWISH SOCIALIST ORGANISATIONS: "POALE-ZION." See page 174.

COMMUNIST "POALE-ZION."

The Groups of the "BUND" (General Jewish Workers' Union), existing in Roumania are affiliated to the Federation.

LITERATURE.

Bulletin of the Vienna Union, 1st year, Nos. 2 and 3; 2nd year, No. 2.

Serban Voinea: "The Labour Movement in Roumania," in "Kampf," Vienna, 1923, No. 7; "Socialism in Backward Countries," 1924, No. 12. (In German).

RUSSIA.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | .. In 1898. |
| Membership | .. Illegal. |
| Trade Unions | .. 4,500,000. (Not affiliated to the I.F.T.U.) |
| Youth Organisations | .. Exist illegally. |
| Educational Organisations | .. ——— |
| Party Press | .. 1 weekly Bulletin (in German), 1 fortnightly (in Russian), both in Berlin. Various illegal periodicals in Russia. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Sozialistisches Westnik</i> (Socialist Herald), (F.) 7-8 Zimmerstrasse, Berlin, S.W. 68. |
| Party Executive | .. President: Th. Dan. Secretary: A. Jugow. |
| Headquarters | .. Foreign Delegation, R. Abramovitch, 12 Courbierstrasse, Berlin, W. 62. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | .. Abramovitch (E.B.) Substitute: Dan. |

The work of the Russian Socialists falls under two heads, namely, illegal activity in Russia and the work of the emigrants, at the centre of which is the Foreign Delegation in Berlin. The former represents an unbroken series of sacrifices in the fight against superior force, which denies to the true believers in Socialism in Russia any legal outlet of expression, any vestige of political freedom, and persecutes them with cruel and systematic brutality. Nevertheless, the comrades in Russia have managed to maintain a well-conducted Party machinery which functions without ceasing, is in contact with numerous local Party organisations and groups, possesses a secret printing-press of its own, and keeps up regular intercourse with the Party abroad. The local Party groups are in touch with the workers in the factories and exert a distinct influence on the workers, though they are of course unable to form mass organisations.

The main task of the section of the Party working abroad consists in keeping up connection with the comrades in Russia, in supporting them as far as possible, especially in providing them with intellectual weapons in the struggle and in continually drawing the attention of the international working class to their fate.

During the last two years two events in particular are stamped on the heroic annals of the suffering of the Socialists in Russia; the shooting of six defenceless prisoners by their guards on the Solovetzki Islands on the 19th December, 1923, and the hunger-strike of the prisoners banished to this wilderness of ice in September and October, 1924, followed shortly afterwards by a similar strike in the prison of Susdal. In February, 1925, Comrade George Kutschin, one of the chief spokesmen of socialism in Russia, was condemned without trial to the barbarous and, even according to bolshevist standards, illegal penalty of ten years' penal servitude, and transported to the gaol in Tcheljabinsk. This penalty was later reduced to five years.

In the activity of the Party abroad the following points are worth noting. In January, 1924, it started the publication of a weekly information sheet in German ("R.S.D."), which met with a great response in the

European Socialist Press. In May, 1924, the enlarged Party Executive, after long deliberations, worked out a new programme for the Party, which bears witness both to its active intellectual participation in the great immediate problems of international socialism and to its clearly-defined policy in all Russian questions, shaped according to Marxist insight and socialist principle. From January to May, 1925, Comrade Abramovitch, on the instructions of the Party, carried out a lecturing tour in the United States, which met with great success.

To the S.D.P. of Russia is affiliated, as an independent unit, the Russian section of the General Jewish Labour Union ("Bund") represented abroad by I. Judin and R. Abramovitch.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. See next page.

LEFT SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. (Illegal in Russia.) Split off in 1917 from the Social Revolutionaries, mainly on the question of their attitude towards the war. During the first months after the Bolshevik Revolution it supported the Bolsheviks and took office in the Soviet Government, but later on declared against the Peace of Brest-Litovsk and against the Bolshevik dictatorship, and is now suppressed in Russia like every other Socialist tendency. The Party belonged from 1921 to 1923 to the Vienna Union, but opposed the fusion with the Second International and held aloof from the Hamburg Congress.

The various groups of Anarchists and Syndicalists, in so far as they are at odds with the dominant Communist Party, are likewise illegal and persecuted in Russia.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: Membership quoted by the Communist International as 244,466 and 209,753 candidates.

LITERATURE.

Programme of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Russia, Vienna, 1925. (In German).
"The Persecution of the Socialists in Russia and Georgia," Berlin, 1925. (In German).

RUSSIA.

SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | .. In 1900. |
| Membership | .. Illegal. |
| Trade Unions | .. See page 184. |
| Youth Organisations | .. Illegal. |
| Educational Organisations | .. ——— |
| Press | .. 1 monthly (in Russian), 1 Bulletin (French); in Prague. Various illegal papers in Russia. |
| Official Organ | .. <i>Revolutionnaja Rossia</i> . (M.) 1 Uhelny trh. Prague. |
| Parliamentary Representation | .. 1917: majority in the Soviets; 224 members in the Constituent Assembly; at present none. |
| Voting Strength | .. 20,000,000 (59 per cent.) at the elections to the Constituent Assembly, 1917. |
| Party Executive | .. An illegal Central Bureau represents the Central Committee condemned in the Moscow trial. |
| Party Headquarters | .. (Foreign Delegation), 1 Uhelny trh. Prague. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | .. Suchomlin. (E.). Substitute: Stalinsky. |

The Social-Revolutionary Party is fighting in Russia to liberate the working masses from the political and economic yoke which crushes them down. Against the bolshevist dictatorship it sets the policy of a free democracy of labour corresponding to the true character of the Russian Revolution. It is fighting for a democratic republic on a broad social foundation. The Party is by no means of the opinion that the economic structure of bolshevism can simply be replaced by capitalism. Nor does it hold that the Russian Revolution can only lead in the end to the installation of the bourgeoisie to political and social power. The Party believes that above all the land in Russia must remain the property of the State. Similarly, those branches of industry which are already strongly centralised must remain nationalised, in so far as this does not detract from the interests of production, oil, iron, coal, railways, water power, and those nationalised industries already self-supporting.

In 1922 the great trial of the twelve members of the Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionaries drew the attention of the workers in all countries to the fate, courageously endured, of the men and women, who have led the Party in its fight in Russia. The death sentences which the bolsheviks, contrary to their pledges to the working class, passed upon them, were commuted in January, 1925, to five years' detention, after one of the twelve, the young Morosoff, by his suicide, had again drawn the attention of the world to the sufferings of his comrades. The prison sentences came to an end during 1925, but a hunger-strike on the part of the prisoners was needed to save them from being despatched to the worst places of banishment in continuation of their imprisonment after their sentences had expired.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

See page 185.

LITERATURE.

- "The S.R. Party and the Present Situation," Paris, 1919. (French).
 "The Twelve who are to Die," (The Trial of the Social-Revolutionaries in Moscow), Berlin, 1922. (German, French and English).
 "The Tcheka" (written in the Prisons in Moscow), Berlin and Paris, 1922. (German, French and Russian).
 Bulletin of the Vienna Union, 1st year, Nos. 2 and 4; 2nd year, Nos. 3 and 4.
 Theses for the Hamburg Congress in *La Vie Socialiste*, Paris, 1923. (In French).
 Victor Tchernoff: "Constructive Socialism," Prague, 1924. (In Russian; 2nd volume in preparation).
 "The Tragedy on the Solovetski Islands," Berlin, 1925. (In German).
 Victor Tchernoff: "At the Turning Point of Two Epochs," in *Die Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1925. (In German).

SPAIN.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY. (Partido Socialista Obrero Español.)

| | |
|---|--|
| Founded | In 1879. |
| Membership | 8,555, of whom 200 are women. |
| Trade Union Membership | 250,000. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | 1,500. |
| Educational Organisations | None. |
| Press | 1 daily, 7 weeklies. |
| Official Organ | <i>El Socialista</i> . 20 Carranza, Madrid. |
| Parliamentary Representation | (7 out of 400); Chamber suppressed |
| Voting Strength | 50,000 in April, 1923. (Universal Suffrage for men; majority rule). |
| Party Executive | President: Pablo Iglesias. Vice-President: Julian Besteiro. Members: Francisco Nunez Tomas, Francisco Largo Caballero, Fernando de los Rios, Lucio Martinez, Toribio Pascual, Antonio Fernandes Quer, Fermin Blazquez. General Secretary: Andrés Saborit. |
| Party Headquarters | 20 Carranza, apartado de correos 10.036, Madrid. |
| Representative in the L.S.I. | Besteiro. (E.). Substitute: Saborit. |

Spain has always been a country governed and exploited by a small clique of noblemen, priests, politicians and soldiers, in which the masses take scarcely any interest in the political life and where the powerfully-organised political parties are unknown. This political apathy has been inevitably aggravated since the country, under the pretext of a deliverance from corrupt politicians, has been subjugated, by the military *coup d'état* of 13th September, 1923, to the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera.

This régime, which is by no means less corrupt, or less incapable than the preceding ones, has not in any way improved the situation in Spain. On the contrary, it has only aggravated it. The military defeat in Morocco, in which Primo de Rivera has been personally involved, has not only struck a blow at the prestige of the Directory, but also at that of the King, who is responsible for having handed over power to him. The oppression of all liberty of opinion, the persecution of exponents of advanced ideas (among whom are our Comrades Pablo Iglesias and Fernando De Los Rios) have given birth to a deep discontent throughout the country. Since the too timid bourgeois parties are unable to translate this discontent into political action and to lead an opposition movement, the remarkable fact has come about that the Socialist Party, in spite of its low numerical strength, has become the champion of the opponents of the Directory, and exercises considerable moral influence. The working class is the only organised power in face of the military régime. And in the centre of the Spanish workers' movement, the Socialist Party, having recovered from the Communist split and working in complete agreement with the Trade Unions affiliated to Amsterdam, has again become the most important organisation, with a strength far surpassing that of the Communists.

The struggle which the Party carries on, in the special conditions of the country, against the military dictatorship, is not easily visible from the outside. Nevertheless, through the development of its Press and by the authority of its leaders, the Party exercises a constantly increasing influence. Thus it represents, in the midst of present difficulties, the future hopes of the Spanish proletariat.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: (5,000 members, according to the Communist International; 1,000 members, according to the Spanish Communist Press). At the last elections this Party had 2,000 votes in the whole country, and no seats.

SOCIALIST UNION OF CATALONIA: Is a provincial organisation without importance.

SWEDEN.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. (Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti.)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Founded | In 1889. |
| Membership | 149,429 (including 19,582 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | 340,518. |
| Youth Organisations | 17,061. |
| Educational Organisations | — |
| Press | 15 dailies : 1 newspaper appearing four times, 6 three times a week ; 6 monthlies. |
| Official Organ | <i>Socialdemokraten</i> . (D.) Barnhusgatan 14, Stockholm. |
| Parliamentary Representation | Second Chamber, 104 out of 230. Upper House, 52 out of 150. |
| Electoral Strength | 725,844 (40.9 per cent.) in September, 1924. (Proportional Representation, men and women). |
| Party Executive | President : P. Albin Hanson. |
| Party Headquarters | Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm. |
| Delegates to the L.S.I. | Engberg (E.B.) ; Lindstroem (E.). |

The reunion of the working classes within the camp of an energetically rising Socialism, the decline and ultimate disruption of the Communist movement, victory at the polls, and a Labour Government—these are the joyful milestones of the Swedish Labour Movement in the last few years.

As early as 1917, after an electoral victory by the Left, the Swedish Socialists for the first time entered a Coalition Government with the Liberals. In March, 1920, Hjalmar Branting formed the first purely Socialist Government which lasted till October, and was followed in 1921, after a fresh electoral success, by the second one. In April, 1923, the latter resigned, and a Conservative Ministry took office, although the Socialists remained the strongest party and the Government had no majority. The elections of December, 1924, once more brought a brilliant success to the Socialist Party. With 41 per cent. of the total votes—the highest percentage which any Socialist Party in a Western European country has reached—and 104 seats, including 5 newly won, it emerged from the electoral struggle as the real victor. In October, 1924, Hjalmar Branting formed the third purely Socialist Government of Sweden. It was indeed like all the previous ones a minority Government, still forced to rely on the support of the bourgeois Left, and thus only able to realise limited reforms, but the advance through these successive victories at the polls and repeated accessions to office, which mark the ascent of the Swedish working class, remains indisputable.

In the forefront of the new Government's policy was a well-considered proposal for Disarmament. The problem of Disarmament has already been discussed for several years in Sweden, where the concern for the maintenance of neutrality is just as much a matter of importance for all Parties as co-operation in building up an international peace organisation. In May, 1925, the Disarmament Bill of the Socialist Government was approved by both Houses ; thus under Socialist guidance

Sweden is the first European State which has actually carried out Disarmament. Withal, the Swedish Labour Government is not losing sight of the great problem of unemployment and is striving to advance social legislation, and in particular to perpetuate the still provisional validity of the Eight-Hour Day.

Unhappily, the man who has led the Swedish Party along the whole road from its origin up to its present position, the leader whom his very adversaries acknowledged as the greatest statesman of Sweden, is no longer to be found at its head ; on the 24th February, 1925, mourned by the whole people, Hjalmar Branting died. In him the Swedish Labour Movement lost its founder and its chief strength, the whole International lost a great and representative personality. His place as Prime Minister was taken by Comrade Sandler ; his place at the head of the Party by Comrade Thorsson. The Party suffered another heavy blow in the death, on the 5th May, 1925, of Comrade Thorsson, also one of the founders of the Party and one of the best and the most loved and trusted leaders of the Swedish workers.

The organisational unity of the Swedish Labour Party, equally with its growth in the political sphere, has made fresh progress. A "Left Socialist Party" split off from the Social-Democratic Party in 1917, but in 1919 one-half went over to the Communists while the remainder, in 1922, returned to Socialism. In September, 1924, the Communist Party split up afresh, one fraction headed by Hoeglund, whom Moscow had excluded, starting the Independent Communist Party. The insignificance of both fragments compared with the Socialist Party is shown by the results obtained at the last two elections. Whilst the Socialist Party won 41 per cent. of the total vote and 104 seats, the Communists obtained 3.7 per cent. of the vote and 5 seats, the Independent Communists 1.4 per cent. of the vote and 1 seat. The further dissolution of these fragments is merely a matter of time, and the unity of the Swedish working classes within the ranks of the Socialist Party is now in practice a reality.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST PARTY : Membership 3,000, voting strength 24,619, 1 seat.
COMMUNIST PARTY : Membership 5,000, voting strength 65,283, 5 seats. For details see above.

LITERATURE.

Proceedings of Annual Congresses. (In Swedish).
Annual Reports. (In Swedish).

TURKEY.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST PARTY.

Party Headquarters Chakir Rassim, Béchik-Tache, Keuy Itchi 57 Constantinople.
Representation in the L.S.I. . . Congress Delegation.

The relations of the Secretariat with this Party—the only one of which it can be said—were so irregular that it is not possible to compile a summary.

UKRAINE.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

Founded In 1900 as the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party ; since 1905, the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party.
Membership 35,000 in 1919.
Trade Unions }
Youth Organisations } At present suppressed.
Educational Organisations }
Press }
Official Organ *Sozialistyczna Dumka*, appears irregularly.
Parliamentary Representation None.
Voting Strength 550,000 at the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, in November, 1917.
Party Executive Foreign Delegation : J. Bezpalko, P. Fedenko, Y. Mazepa, A. Merklung, H. Niantshur.
Party Headquarters Foreign Delegation : A. Merklung, 6 Arbesova, Prague-Vynohrady.
Representative in the L.S.I. . . Bezpalko. (E.).

The position of the Ukraine is, at the present moment, both in political and cultural respects, at once unnatural and unsatisfactory. The Ukrainian nation, already before the war awakening from their obscure past, found themselves at that time half under Russian, half under Austro-Hungarian domination, both of which denied to them cultural and political self-determination. In the chaos at the close of the war, at a time of most violent convulsions and of rapid changes in succession, during which one army after another was quartered upon the people, on whose soil the greater part of the hostilities on the Eastern Front had taken place, and while within the borders of the Ukraine one ruler followed another—at that moment for a while unity and freedom seemed to beckon the Ukrainian nation also. But to-day it finds itself once more sundered into four parts : one, the East Galician, is a part of Poland ; another, as the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, is federated in the Soviet Union ; the third, in Bukovina and Bessarabia, belongs to-day to Roumania ; whilst the fourth, Carpathian-Russia, was allotted to Czecho-Slovakia by the Peace Treaties. On the one hand this state of things signifies the continuation of the struggle for cultural autonomy and for the rights of national minorities against Polish and Roumanian domination. On the other hand, the Soviet Ukraine, though in cultural matters it has been granted a fair measure of autonomy, has to bear the weight of the bolshevist dictatorship, which appearing as it does somewhat as an alien rule, assumes still worse proportions than even in Russia.

In such circumstances the lot of Ukrainian Social-Democracy, which works in the Ukraine as an illegal Party, is an extremely hard one, harder even than that of all the other Socialist Parties under bolshevist rule, since before the war the Ukrainian Labour movement was weak and disunited through the disintegration of the Ukrainian people. A considerable section of this Labour movement has passed over to the bolshevists. Checked as it is by all these barriers, Ukrainian Social-Democracy is waging its struggle on peculiarly difficult ground and for the time being any striking successes are outside its scope.

OTHER WORKERS' PARTIES.

SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, also illegal in the Ukraine; not affiliated to the L.S.I.

COMMUNIST PARTY: (39,000 members, according to the figures of the Communist International).

LITERATURE.

Manifesto of the Ukrainian Socialist Labour Party to the Socialist Labour Congress in Hamburg, 1923.

"The Famine in the Ukraine," Berlin, 1923. (German and English).

J. Mazepa: "Bolshevism and the Russian Occupation in the Ukraine," Berlin, 1923. (In German).

P. Fedenko: "The National and Social Struggle for Freedom in the Ukraine," Berlin, 1923. (In German).

Doroshenko: "Revolucijna Ukrajinska Partija," Lemberg, 1921. (In Ukrainian).

YUGO-SLAVIA.

SOCIALIST PARTY.

(Socijalistička Partija Jugoslavije.)

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|--|
| Founded | .. .. . | In 1921. |
| Membership | .. .. . | 4,000 (including 300 women). |
| Trade Union Membership | .. .. . | 40,000. |
| Membership of Youth Organisations | .. .. . | 500. |
| Educational Organisations | .. .. . | In existence. |
| Press | .. .. . | 5 weeklies, 1 bi-weekly. |
| Official Organ | .. .. . | Radnicke Novine. (W.). Belgrade. |
| Parliamentary Strength | .. .. . | None. |
| Voting Strength | .. .. . | 25,00 in February, 1925. (Proportional Representation; Male Suffrage.) |
| Party Executive | .. .. . | Presidents: Blagoje Bracinac, Vitomir Korac. |
| Head Offices | .. .. . | Dr. Zivko Topalovic, Bokeljska 4, Belgrade. |
| Representation in the L.S.I. | .. .. . | Dr. Z. Topalovic. |

The Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia is fighting in a country which stands economically at the beginning of capitalist evolution, historically and socially at the close of the bourgeois revolution, which has freed the peasants from the remains of feudalism and carried through a land reform, whereby, as in all other East-European states, the peasants have become the class which dominates and upholds the state. The political outcome of this revolution has been the formation of a national state, which process is now fulfilling itself in Yugo-Slavia amid severe disturbances, since the separate parts of the South Slav people are divided from one another by marked historical, religious, cultural, and racial differences.

In face of this problem, which has occupied the domestic history of the Yugo-Slav state since its foundation and more than ever during recent years, in struggles of ever-increasing violence, two ways were open to the working classes. One of these was to attempt to inflame all the conflicts between separate races, all the discrepancies rooted in the backward economic and cultural conditions of the Balkan valleys, and to exploit them for the ruin of the new-born state, and for the encouragement of world revolution. This attempt, utterly alien from all socialist ideas, to strike at capitalism where it is least developed, has been made by the Communists in Yugo-Slavia—with the result that they have reduced the Yugo-Slav Labour movement to a heap of ruins. The other way is to grasp in all its connections the still-proceeding evolution, to teach the workers that the struggles for the creation of a capitalist national state are not their problems, and that only after the settlement of these national conflicts can the moment of social conflicts arise, for which the working class must prepare itself.

This task of enlightenment under the most difficult circumstances has been performed by the Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia to the best of its ability. What reaction, provoked by the Communists, has destroyed by its measures for the "Defence of the Constitution," and by its arbitrary police methods, has had to be rebuilt by the Socialists with painful toil: trade unions, Party organisation, Party Press, workers' clubs. Since they have been incited and led astray by the Communists, a great part of the still unenlightened masses have grown indifferent; however, there is a slow forward tendency.

The strife in the middle-class parties on the question, whether Yugo-Slavia is to be established as a centralised unified state on the basis

The present "Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia" came into being in December, 1921, through the union of three Socialist Parties. To make the fusion possible the Parties then cut loose their international connection; but the unified Party later co-operated in the reunion of the International at Hamburg. The birth of the present Yugo-Slav state out of a variety of provinces still has also certain reactions within the Labour Movement, which are seen in the continued existence or even in the new formation of local or district separate organisations; but these are not of any importance. Indeed, the Socialist Party, conscious of its aims, is continuing on all sides its efforts towards the realisation of organisational unity in the Yugo-Slav proletariat. It is on these lines that a rapprochement between the trade unions of socialist and those of communist persuasion has recently taken place, which became evident at the May-Day Celebration, 1925.

COMMUNIST PARTY: (2,000 members. No figure quoted by the Communist International). The Trade Unions under its influence amount at present in round numbers to 20,000 members. At the first elections after the war the Communists won 58 seats. Since the law for the Defence of the Constitution, by which the Communist members were excluded from the Skupstschina, the Party has been illegal, but worked for a time within the law under the name of "Independent Workers' Party." At the last elections it obtained 13,000 votes and no seat.

Topalovic : " Yugo-Slav Socialists and the International " in the ' Kampf,' Vienna, 1921, No. 1 ; and " Elections in Yugo-Slavia," ' Kampf,' Vienna, 1923, Nos. 4/5, and 1925, No. 3.

basis.